ERIC Document Resume	See Instruction Sheet	DATE OF RESUME	DATE RECEIVED

A. PUBLICATION DATA

1. ERIC NUMBER	2. ORIGINATOR CONTROL NO(S).	3. IDENTIFICATION NO.	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACE BELOW
ED001981	N.A.	N.A.	

4. AUTHOR(S): Tumin, Melvin M.

5. TITLE OF DOCUMENT ABSTRACTED: Segregation and Desegregation:A Digest of Recent Research

6. PUBLICATION TITLE: N.A.

7. EDITOR(S): N.A.

8. PLACE OF ORIGIN
ORG. Princeton University
ST. CITY, STATE Princeton, New Jersey
TELE. EXT.
INST/LOC CODE

9. PUBLISHER OR SOURCE
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Ave., New York, New York

10. VOL.	11. PAGES	12. MO./YR.	13. TOTAL PP.
N.A.	N.A.	1957	112

MICROFILM COPY AVAILABLE YES ☒ NO ☐

COPYRIGHT GRANTED YES ☒ NO ☐

COPYRIGHT RELEASE FILED YES ☒ NO ☐

TYPE OF REPORT
PROPOSAL ☐
IN-PROGRESS ☐
FINAL ☒
FOLLOW-UP ☐

OTHER ERIC REFERENCES:

ERIC SATELLITE CODE

B. INDEXING DATA

14. SUBJECT AREA

15. TYPE OF ENDEAVOR Digest

16. INDEXING TERMS (6-12)

	discrimination	intelligence factors	research
interracial activities	economic structure	industrial integration	segregation
Negro politics	comparative pathologies	Supreme Court's role	desegregation
prejudice	attitudes	legal aspects	Negro-white relations

17. ABSTRACT (MAX. 250 WORDS)

Literature on segregation and integration of Negroes and whites in the United States is presented. The literature surveyed is confined to articles which appeared in professional journals in the period January 1, 1951, to July 1, 1956.

Segregation and integration in various institutional areas include interracial activities in Southern churches, in the U.S. Army, in industry, in public and private housing, and in a small New England town. Factors affecting the process of desegregation are resistance movements, educational programs, and Supreme Court decisions.

The articles concerning Negro-white differences include aspiration levels, Army test scores, academic achievements, and occupational attitudes. The area of Negro political behavior involves such subjects as the re-enfranchisement of Negroes, Negro masses and leaders, and extremist movements among Negroes.

Theoretical issues in the analysis of prejudice and discrimination include articles on conformity, attitudes of white Southerners, and intergroup relations. Other areas covered are the Negro's status in the economic structure, migration and residence, desegregation processes in various States, and comparative pathologies.

ERIC No.

18. SOURCE OF ABSTRACT

C. FUNDING DATA

19. SUPPORTING ORGANIZATION

20. DIVISION OR DEPT.

21. CONTRACT NO.

PROJECT NO.

22. TOTAL COST OF PROJECT

23. DURATION OR PROJECT

U.S. Department of Health,
Education, and Welfare
Office of Education

2

ERIC Form 1

DESEGREGATION & INTERGROUP RELATIONS
RESEARCH (COMPILATIONS & DIGESTS

ED001981

SEGREGATION

and

DESEGREGATION

a digest of recent research

by
Melvin M. Tumin

Office of Education-EEOP
Research and Materials Branch
Bennett O. Stalvey

REPRINTED BY PERMISSION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN PRINTED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

BLANK PAGE

SEGREGATION
and
DESEGREGATION

a digest of recent research

by

Melvin M. Tumin
*Associate Professor of
Sociology and Anthropology,
Princeton University*

Office of Education-EEOP
Research and Materials Branch

The research for this study was aided by a grant from the Sigmund Livingston Memorial Fund.

Table of Contents

FOREWORD 5

SEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION IN VARIOUS INSTITUTIONAL AREAS 8
- "Segregation in American Education: An Overview," Ambrose Caliver 8
- "Interracial Activities in Southern Churches," L. Maynard Catchings 8
- "The Negro in the U.S. Army," Robert J. Dwyer 9
- "Integration in the Armed Services," James C. Evans and David A. Lane, Jr. 10
- "Industrial Integration of Negroes: The Upgrading Process," John Hope 10
- "The Effects of Southern White Workers on Race Relations in Northern Plants," Lewis M. Killian 11
- "The Race Relations Patterns by Areas of Behavior in a Small New England Town," Frank F. Lee 12
- "Impact of Company Policy Upon Discrimination," Jack London and Richard Hammett .. 13
- "Integration in Public and Private Housing," Robert C. Weaver 14
- "The Negro Policy of the American Army since World War II," L. D. Reddick 15

FACTORS AFFECTING THE PROCESS OF DESEGREGATION 17
- "Policies and Practices of Discrimination Commissions," Elmer A. Carter 17
- "Resistance Movements and Racial Desegregation," Harold C. Fleming 17
- "An Evaluation of the Integration Potential of a Physical Education Program," Harriet J. Kupferer 18
- "Desegregation, Integration, and the Negro Community," Hylan Lewis and Mozell Hill ... 18
- "The United States Supreme Court and the Segregation Issue," Rayford W. Logan 19
- "Legal Inventions and the Desegregation Process," James M. Nabrit, Jr. 19
- "Eliminating Educational Segregation in the Nation's Capital—1951-1956," Irene Osborne and Richard K. Bennett 19
- "Integration and Sparse Negro Populations," A. Stephen Stephan 20
- "Population Ratios, Racial Attitudes, and Desegregation," A. Stephen Stephan 20
- "A Study of Some Factors Affecting the Decision of Negro High School Students to Enroll in Previously All-White High Schools, St. Louis, 1955," A. Stephen Stephan 21
- "Extending Civil Rights in New Jersey Through the Division Against Discrimination," Marion T. Wright 21

NEGRO-WHITE DIFFERENTIALS IN OPPORTUNITIES, INTERESTS AND ACHIEVEMENTS 23
- "Inequalities in Schooling in the South," Arnold C. Anderson 23
- "The Levels of Aspiration of White and Negro Children in a Non-Segregated Elementary School," George F. Boyd 24
- "Negro-White Army Test Scores and Last School Grades," Byron E. Fulk and Thomas W. Harrell 24

"A Comparison of the Academic Achievements of White and Negro High School Graduates," Henry Allen Bullock 25
"A Study of Occupational Attitudes," E. C. Harrison 26
"Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration: A Philadelphia Test of the Klineberg Hypothesis," Everett S. Lee 26
"On White and Negro Test Performances and Socio-Economic Factors," Frank C. J. McGurk 27
"The Intelligence of American Negroes," Robert D. North 27
"Outlook for Graduates from Segregated Schools" 28
"Interests of Negroes and Whites," Edward K. Strong, Jr. 29

ATTITUDES: COMPONENTS, CORRELATES AND MEASUREMENT 30
"A Mathematical and Statistical Experiment with Bogardus' Social Distance Scale," Panos D. Bardis 30
"Infiltration and the Attitudes of White and Negro Parents and Children," Charles Bird, Elio D. Monachesi and Harvey Burdick 30
"Attitudes Toward Desegregation: A Study of Oklahoma A & M Undergraduates," Herman M. Case 31
"Attitudes Toward Desegregation: A Study of County Extension Agents and 4-H Club Members," Herman M. Case and Paul G. Adams 32
"Attitudes Toward Desegregation: A Study of 37 Oklahoma Communities," Herman M. Case and Hugh H. Callam 33
"Negro Conceptions of White People," Tilman C. Cothran 34
"Rank Order of Sensitivity to Discrimination," W. S. M. Banks, II 35
"The Myrdalian Thesis: Rank Order of Discrimination," Edwin R. Edmunds 36
"The Ethnic Prejudices of White and Negro College Students," J. Stanley Gray and Anthony H. Thompson 37
"The Semantics of Being Negro," S. I. Hayakawa 38
"The Organization of Attitudes Toward the Negro as a Function of Education," Lessing A. Kahn 38
"The Process of Social Stratification Among an Urban Southern Minority," Charles E. King 39
"Attitudes Toward Desegregation: A Study of School Administrators and Teachers," Earl H. Knebel and Herman M. Case 39
"Differences Between the High and Low in Prejudice and Their Implications for a Theory of Prejudice," Gardner Lindzey 40
"Tolerant-intolerant Attitudes on a University Campus," Jiri Nehnevajsa 41
"Minority Group Contacts and Social Distance," Jerry A. Neprash 41
"Shifting Group Attachments and Attitudes Toward Negroes," Leonard I. Pearlin 42
"Ethnocentrism and Anti-Negro Attitudes in the Deep South," E. Terry Prothro 43
"A Comparison of Ethnic Attitudes of College Students and Middle Class Adults from the Same State," E. Terry Prothro and Otha King Miles 44
"Comparison of Some Ethnic and Religious Attitudes of Negro and White College Students in the Deep South," E. Terry Prothro and John A. Jensen 44
"When White Children Are in the Minority," Joseph Rosner 45
"Wishes of High School Seniors and Social Status," Benjamin F. Smith 46
"Negro-White Status Differentials and Social Distance," Frank R. Westie 46
"Social Status Differentials and the Race Attitudes of Negroes," Frank R. Westie and David Howard 47

NEGRO POLITICAL BEHAVIOR 48
"America's Newest Voter: A Florida Case Study," William G. Carleton and H. D. Price .. 48
"Where Does Negro Voter Strength Lie?" 49
"Re-Enfranchisement of Negroes in Florida," Charles D. Farris 50
"The Southern Scene," Henry Lee Moon 50
"Negro Masses and Leaders: An Analysis of Current Trends," Hugh H. Smythe 51
"Extremist Movements Among American Negroes," Wilson Record 52

THEORETICAL ISSUES IN THE ANALYSIS OF PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION .. 54
"Conformity versus Prejudice as Exemplified in Negro-White Relations in the South; Some Methodological Considerations," Percy Black and Ruth Davidson Atkins 54
"Note on Race Relations in Mass Society," Joseph D. Lohman and Dietrich C. Reitzes .. 55
"Race Prejudice and Social Change," Herman H. Long 56
"Research on Informational, Educational, and Propaganda Effects on Attitude Change," Simon Marcson 57
"The Transmission of Racial Attitudes Among White Southerners," Olive Westbrooke Quinn 57
"Intergroup Relations vs. Prejudice: Pertinent Theory for the Study of Social Change," Arnold M. Rose 58
"The Influence of Social Communication on Ethnic Opinions," Lawrence Schlesinger 59

RELATIVE STATUS OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO IN THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE .. 60
- "Employment and Income of Negro Workers—1940-52," Mary S. Bedell ... 60
- "Industry Comes of Age in the South," E. William Noland ... 61
- "The Vanishing Servant and the Contemporary Status System of the American South," C. Arnold Anderson and Mary Jean Bowman ... 61
- "Trends in the Economic Status of the Negro People," Victor Perlo ... 61
- "The Negro in the Industrial Development of the South," Stefan H. Robcock ... 62
- "Jobs for Negroes: Some North-South Plant Studies," H. Ellsworth Steele ... 63
- "Interracial Practices in Mental Hospitals," Rutherford B. Stevens ... 64
- "The Non-White Female in the Labor Force," Ralph H. Turner ... 66
- "The Relative Position of the Negro Male in the Labor Force of Large American Cities," Ralph H. Turner ... 67
- "Foci of Discrimination in the Employment of Non-whites," Ralph H. Turner ... 68
- "Negro Job Status and Education," Ralph H. Turner ... 70
- "Occupational Patterns of Inequality," Ralph H. Turner ... 70

MIGRATION, RESIDENCE AND HOUSING ... 72
- "A Study of Landlords' Ethnic Preferences in a Polyethnic Community," Douglas S. Yamamura and Harry V. Ball, Jr. ... 72
- "Incidental Findings on Urban Invasion," William K. Brussat ... 72
- "A Re-survey of the North Kenwood-Oakland Community," Rose Humm Lee, Arthur Hillman and St. Clair Drake ... 73
- "Race, Housing and Urban Renewal: A Toledo Housing Study," James B. McKee ... 74
- "Negro Migration in the United States," Lawson Purday ... 74
- "Neighborhood Reactions to Isolated Negro Residents: An Alternative to Invasion and Succession," Arnold M. Rose, Frank Atelsek and Lawrence McDonald ... 75

OVERVIEWS ... 76
- "Attitudes Toward the Education of Negroes," William H. Brown ... 76
- "A Sociologist Looks at Racial Desegregation in the South," Guy B. Johnson ... 77
- "A Cross-Institutional Comparison of Northern and Southern Race Relations," Frank F. Lee ... 79
- "The Changing Patterns of Race Relations," George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger .. 79
- "The Rivalry of Intolerances in Race Relations," Theodore W. Sprague ... 80

DESEGREGATION PROCESSES IN VARIOUS STATES AND CITIES ... 82
- "Desegregation in Delaware: The Setting, Techniques and Strategy," Ralph S. Holloway .. 82
- "Racial Integration in Southern Higher Education," Guy B. Johnson ... 82
- "Kansas City Does Its Duty," Martin B. Loeb ... 83
- "The 'Student Strike' as a Socio-Psychological Reaction to Desegregation," Harold Mendelsohn ... 83

COMPARATIVE PATHOLOGIES ... 85
- "Negro and White Male Institutionalized Delinquents," Sidney Axelrad ... 85
- "The Negro Offender in a Northern Industrial Area," Vernon Fox and Joann Volakakis .. 86
- "Negro Visibility," William M. Kephart ... 86
- "Some Hypotheses Concerning the Influence of Segregation on Negro Personality Development," Esther Milner ... 87
- "The Relationship of Fetal and Infant Mortality to Residential Segregation," Alfred Yankauer, Jr. ... 87

MISCELLANEOUS ... 89
- "Opinions Concerning Desegregation in Schools: A Study of Poll Data, 1942-1955," Arvid Brodersen and Jacob Goldstein ... 89
- "Characteristics of the Negro-White Intermarried in Philadelphia," Joseph Golden ... 89
- "The Emotional Problems of Negro High School Youth Which Are Related to Segregation and Discrimination in a Southern Urban Community," Baker M. Hindman ... 90
- "The Negro Union Official: A Study of Sponsorship and Control," William Kornhauser .. 92
- "Some Characteristics of American Negro Leaders," Thomas C. Monahan and Elizabeth H. Monahan ... 93

PUBLIC OPINION POLLS AND SURVEYS ... 94
- Catholic Digest Survey ... 94
- A.I.P.O. Releases ... 103
- "Attitudes Toward Desegregation," Herbert H. Hyman and Paul B. Sheatsley ... 112

Foreword

For some time now, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has sponsored compilations of digests of current research on problems relevant to intergroup relations. These reports have served as brief reconnaissances of the research literature, aiming at highlights rather than complete surveys.

When it was decided to issue a digest of research on segregation and integration of Negroes and Whites in the United States, it became clear that a much broader coverage of the literature would be amply justified. Without pretending to be an exhaustive compilation, the present publication nevertheless samples the literature far more widely than has been customary in these digests. With few exceptions, the literature surveyed here is confined to articles which have appeared in professional journals in the period January 1, 1951 to July 1, 1956.

In order to get an overview of the available literature, a canvass was made in the *International Index to Periodicals*, the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*, the *Sociological Abstracts* and the *Psychological Index*. Material cited in the *Education Index* was not surveyed. Many of the publications in this index, to the extent that they are research studies, are found in the sources canvassed. Notable exceptions are the recent summer issues of the *Journal of Negro Education*, which are included here in the section on "Some Longer Studies." A master bibliography was compiled of the items which appeared from their titles to be relevant to Negro-White relations in an era of desegregation. Each of these items was read through in order to decide whether it was appropriate to the purposes of the bulletin. In addition, from time to time, our attention was drawn to items in sources other than the mentioned indexes. These include unpublished manuscripts; masters' and doctoral theses; research items published in non-research journals; and papers delivered at various professional meetings. Once the appropriateness had been decided upon, the article was digested. The inclusion of public opinion poll data is justified in the note which introduces that section.

The primary criterion of inclusion in this report was the extent to which the article could be said to be relevant to research. Since this is a broad term, some of the types of relevance which guided the selection may be specified. Some of the articles are models of scientific research in the fullest sense of the word. Some are pieces of speculation about the implications of research findings. Some take stock of research in a sub-area of the major problem and attempt to summarize the findings and indicate trends. Some are concerned with the theory which has guided the research activities of others. Still others are critical evaluations of the work of other researchers. Among the most fundamental researches here reported are some which manipulate census materials in the interest of testing leading hypotheses. In short, almost every stage of scientific work is represented by the present array of articles, from the original hunches which lead to hypotheses, to the attempts at creating master blocs of theory which will organize whole bodies of propositions into coherent systems.

I have deliberately refrained from evaluating the scientific worthiness or practical uses of any of the materials. I have tried, however, to present much of the information which one might need to make an initial if not a final assessment of the worthiness of the work. Similarly, those concerned with social action may well find valuable cues in the materials here presented.

The digests are of unequal length. It has been my decision, and mine alone, as to how fully any given article ought to be presented. Undoubtedly, my own particular interests in this field, and my own judgments of worthiness have entered into these decisions.

As a technique to minimize the play of my own biases, I have deliberately included as many direct quotations and summary statements made by the authors themselves as I have found possible. Unless otherwise specifically indicated, all statements made in the digests are either direct transcriptions or close paraphrases of the authors' own words.

The articles are grouped into various sections, each of which bears a title more or less descriptive of the main line of problem considered in the articles. Since most of the articles consider more than one single aspect of the Negro-White relations, some readers may feel they would have classified them somewhat differently. The classifications are offered only in the hope they may make for greater ease in the use of the bulletin.

I have tried to include a sample of the best available literature in each of these categories. This is not to be taken to mean that articles which have not been digested are of lesser worth. Sometimes articles were chosen which, while less meritorious in terms of research procedure than others, nevertheless were somewhat more interesting, or presented points of view and suggested hypotheses which were not to be found in other articles. In short, the present compilation is not to be conceived as a prize collection, but rather as a reasonably large sample of research literature on various aspects of the problem of segregation and desegregation.

Excluded completely from consideration here are the hundreds upon hundreds of articles on the problem of segregation which have appeared in the popular press and magazines. Undoubtedly one can come to know as much about segregation, on certain *levels* of knowing, from the more popular and journalistic pieces, as one can from the more rigorous scientific research. In some instances, a kind of enlightenment through insight can be secured from brilliant reportage which no scientific research can match. But the task would have been impossible, within the limits of the resources available, if any attempt had been made to cover the more popular periodical literature.

Also excluded from presentation here are the numerous book-length studies which have appeared with increasing frequency over the past five years. The limits upon our resources also dictated this decision.

Nor have we attempted to cull the files of various agencies for the natural histories of social action which systematic use of these files can provide. Again, for the same reasons.

In view of the great public interest and participation in Negro-White relations, it is surprising how relatively little research has actually been done. For, while scientific research does not automatically follow the avenues of dominant public interest, it is usual that, through various intermediations, this public interest does lead to corollary scientific research interest. Perhaps the active involvements of institutions, foundations and agencies of social action have drained off some of the time, energy, funds and personnel that might otherwise have found their way into more narrow channels of scientific research.

It is not surprising that the most sure-footed approaches to problems have been those employed by various agencies of social action. They have been the real experimenters in this natural social laboratory. And if they have not always exercised the control over variables which experimental strategy demands, they have nevertheless had to bet high stakes upon the probabilities of outcome. The present balance of Negro-White relations would seem to indicate that their bets, and therefore their implied premises, have been correct significantly more often than chance might have permitted.

Much of the knowledge upon which these successful social wagers have been made resides in the heads of the active practitioners of the art of human relations. It is not available in a systematic and readily accessible form in any of the more usual repositories of knowledge upon which science builds its systems. In the long run, the inaccessibility of this knowledge will work to the detriment both of scientific theory and effective social action. The publication of this bulletin, indicating some of the things we know most surely, some we are most doubtful about, and some total areas of ignorance we suffer, is designed in part to incite further research.

At the same time, there is implied the hope that the knowledge here presented may be of some value to the agencies of social change. For while many problems can be solved successfully without knowing systematically why success has been achieved, the long run interests of social action, as well as those of science, demand that we learn what we need to know to fire well-aimed shots at clearly identified targets, and that we cease enveloping a host of possible targets with successive loads of buckshot fired at random.

It is now time to offer thanks to those who have assisted me in this task. Mr. Oscar Cohen, director of the program division of the Anti-Defamation League conceived the idea, developed it into a working plan, implemented the plan with all the resources at his disposal, and left me completely free rein to go about my business by my own best lights. Much of whatever there is of value in the final product which this book represents is to Mr. Cohen's credit. Any shortcomings other than typographical are of my own contrivance.

Dr. Herman Case, formerly of Oklahoma A & M, and recently Mr. Cohen's associate in the program division, has also given me valuable assistance.

My colleague, Professor Morroe Berger, of the department of economics and sociology of Princeton University, has helped me in more ways than I probably know. He has been kind enough not to enumerate them exhaustively.

Mr. Robert Cutler and Mr. Ray Collins graduate students at Princeton University, have done yeoman work at virtually every stage of this project. The same may be said for Mrs. Leila Mattson.

I thank them one and all.

MELVIN M. TUMIN

Segregation and Integration In Various Institutional Areas

CALIVER, AMBROSE, "Segregation in American Education: An Overview," The Annals Vol. 304, 1956, pp. 17-25.

The article describes some aspects of the inequality of American education in the southern states, particularly after the Plessy v. Ferguson "separate but equal" doctrine demonstrating that in fact the facilities provided were not equal. However, during the thirties, increasing knowledge of the disadvantaged status of Negroes led to a narrowing of the gap of inequality. Despite this progress, leaders in the Negro education movement decided to press for the removal of segregation resulting in the Court decision of May, 1954.

The author offers two major hypotheses:

1) The southern whites deliberately instituted the policy of segregation in order to condition the Negroes to an inferior status in society. "They knew how such a system would affect Negroes—their goals, values, aspirations, and attitudes, as well as their knowledge, habits, and spirits. Segregated schools have prevented Negroes from achieving those major desires found in every normal human being—a sense of belonging, a desire for appreciation, and a desire for self-expression."

2) "One of the strongest arguments against a continuance of the separate but equal system, if it were really equal in physical facilities and in finance, is that it would simply cost too much."

Statistics are cited to attempt to show how expensive it would be for the southern states to attempt to achieve the stated result. These are rough estimates as to what it would cost per annum to bring the facilities to equality, with the assumption that this would be the average yearly cost.

CATCHINGS, L. MAYNARD, "Interracial Activities in Southern Churches," Phylon Vol. 13, 1952, pp. 54-56.

Do southern churches provide opportunities within their program for interracial Christian fellowship? If so, in what form and to what extent do these opportunities exist? Members of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen were polled in 1947 and 1948 regarding interracial activities in their churches. The number of usable returns was 52 (approximately 10% of the members of the Fellowship). The author feels that in spite of the fact that the sample is small, it ". . . is probably a representative cross-section of the churches with which the members of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen are connected." Nine denominations were represented from 11 states and the District of Columbia. There were 11 "Negro" churches and 41 "white" churches, among which there were great variations in size and rural-urban location.

Fifty-two per cent of the churches provided occasions for interracial contact, and 48% provided no such opportunity. Interracial participation did not correlate with denominational identity.

Most frequent characteristics of churches providing for interracial participation were:

1) More "Negro" than "white" churches reported provisions for interracial participation.

2) More interracial participation was found in churches located in border states than in "southern" states.

3) Many of the churches having interracial participation indicated the practice in some way to be related to their proximity to a college community.

Most often, the interracial activity was in connection with special program activities rather than in regular worship or religious education.

DWYER, ROBERT J., "The Negro in the U. S. Army," Sociology and Social Research Vol. 38, 1953, pp. 103-112.

The socio-psychological aspects of the Negro's changing position, and the dynamic nature of the pattern of relationships between Negro and white within the institutional framework of the Army have significance for the whole question of the Negro's status in American society.

The Negro may be viewed historically in his role as defender of American democracy, with reference to three periods: 1775 to World War I; World War I to Pearl Harbor; and World War II.

When non-segregation and non-discrimination are sanctioned and enforced by law, the pattern is generally accepted by the community group.

When Negro-white intermingling occurs and relationships are on a non-segregated basis there is no perceptible increase in frictions or overt antagonisms, but rather a tendency toward the establishment of attitudes of mutual acceptance on the basis of individual personality and merit.

Until 1948, the armed forces had followed a fairly consistent policy of using the Negro for only menial work unless the war situation became critical. The Second World War saw an increased utilization of Negro manpower. Even so, the Army was slow to integrate itself properly. With Truman's Executive Order 9981, the Army began instituting a new policy of abandoning segregation. A great impetus to this movement was the Korean War, where some Negro officers outranked white ones with no friction developing. The Army still has much work to do before integration is completed.

The old policy and pattern of segregation did not lessen inter-group friction and tension, but had a somewhat opposite effect. Under the policy of segregation in the Army, the following appeared to hold true in most cases.

1) Caste consciousness was fostered and strengthened by traditional Army class consciousness.

2) In terms of time, money, and efficiency, it was a costly policy.

3) Discriminatory practices prevailed in job and unit assignments.

4) Negro leadership was lacking in quality.

Especially significant is the Negro's discontent with his inferior status, and his tendency to utter protest because of:

1) High sensitivity to discrimination in civilian life;

2) A realization of the discrepancy between the moral values of the American creed and the low status accorded the Negro within the context of segregation.

In terms of the performance efficiency under the policy of segregation, the evidence is not conclusive one way or the other. In any case, a unit with low morale, poor leadership, feelings of inferiority, and segregated as a lower caste could not be expected to perform adequately.

Wherever the pattern of segregation has broken down, there has been a marked absence of friction or tension.

In many instances, the absence of segregation on Army posts has led to changes in the Negro's relationships with the civilian community.

EVANS, JAMES C. AND LANE, DAVID A., JR., "Integration in the Armed Services," The Annals Vol. 304, 1956, pp. 78-85.

Where integration is attempted, it is possible to use the abilities of the Negro in such a way that society will derive benefit from this utilization rather than suffer a loss in efficiency from supposed friction attendant upon such integration. At least this is true with regard to the armed forces of the U. S.

The armed forces have successfully implemented a policy of racial equality, with resultant improvement in efficiency of military operation.

The participation of the Negro in the armed forces is greater during wartime, due to the pressure of military necessity. Where utilized, the Negro has generally served with distinction.

The use of Negroes has increased both in numbers; in positions of command responsibility; and in types of functions.

Percentage of Negroes in the Personnel of the Armed Forces, by Services.

	July 1, 1949	July 1, 1954
Army officers	1.8	2.97
Army enlisted men	12.4	13.[illegible]
Nevy officers	0.0	0.1
Navy enlisted men	4.7	3.6
Air Force officers	0.6	1.1
Air Force enlisted men	5.1	8.6
Marine Corps officers	0.0	0.1
Marine Corps enlisted men	2.1	6.5

HOPE, JOHN, "Industrial Integration of Negroes: The Upgrading Process," Human Organization Vol. II, 1952, pp. 5-14.

When the top management minority utilization policy of an industrial firm changes from one which gives preference to some racial, religious, or national origin group or groups, to one which assures equality of employment opportunity to all without regard to minority status, rather profound and not readily reversible changes are set in motion.

Such changes involve a process of adjustment over a period of time, encompassing the following general stages: 1) complete exclusion of the minority; 2) restricted utilization; and 3) utilization of the minority on the basis of objective efficiency qualifications alone.

This paper is concerned with the consequences of management's efforts to apply a non-discrimination policy in its employment of Negroes to only one of its manpower management functions, that of upgrading and transfer as a means of achieving full utilization of present employees.

The case studies in the article are taken from three southern plants of the International Harvester Company. They are large scale industrial installations operating under a common minority utilization policy, national in scope, and determined solely by their parent firm. All three plants began their application of the non-discrimination policy in new plant situations and thus did not have the precedents of contrary practices to combat, although each was surrounded by companies having such practices.

The company minority policy states that there "shall be no discrimination against any person because of nationality, race, political or religious affiliation."

In compliance with this policy, hundreds of Negroes have been employed in a wide variety of semi-skilled production jobs. Through the persistent application of the policy, the Negro's share in the total employment of these three plants has continuously increased, and the percentage of Negroes engaged in job classifications above the unskilled level has grown significantly. Production workers (Negro) in the Louisville and Memphis plants have obtained a job level comparable to that of their white associates. The coincidence of union seniority provisions and the non-discrimination clause has materially contributed to the vertical mobility of current Negro employees.

The first two cases reported involve upgradings which gave Negroes a job status equal to that of whites in their immediate vicinity. The second group of cases describes situations in which Negroes were elevated to skilled jobs hitherto considered "white jobs." The next case grouping treats instances in which progression of Negroes placed them in positions involving some supervisory responsibilities. Finally, the result of a Negro's effort to advance by "bumping" a shorter service white employee in his department is described.

"It is apparent from the foregoing description of the growth in quantity and the rise in job status of Negro employees, and from the changes in the relationships between management and unions, Negro and white workers, and Negro union members and their unions, that the day-to-day minority utilization practices are persistently, though sometimes haltingly, shifting. They are moving from the intermediate stage of limited minority advancement towards the final stage of color-blind upgrading of workers on the basis of their efficiency qualifications and period of service, though the latter phase has not been fully attained. This process is taking place primarily through the normal unspectacular machinery of union-management jurisprudence established by union-management agreement. . . ."

"Within this formal structure, the importance of informal education in effectively handling minority-majority relations . . . cannot be overestimated."

KILLIAN, LEWIS M., "The Effects of Southern White Workers on Race Relations in Northern Plants," American Sociological Review

Vol. 17, 1952, pp. 327-331.

This study is part of a larger investigation of the adjustment of southern white workers in northern industrial plants to northern, urban ways, as found in Chicago. Prior to the concentration of large numbers of migrants, both white and Negro, in defense centers during World War II, only casual interest was given to the effects of southern white migration on race relations in the North. It was assumed that the migrant reacts to contacts with Negroes in a new situation in the same manner that he did in the South. It has been suggested that because of the refusal of the southern white in the North to accept a "non-southern" definition of interracial relations, he is both an instigator of racial conflict and an agent for the diffusion of "southern" patterns of interracial relations. In the present study, the reactions of southern whites in Chicago to contact with Negroes in regard to work and their influence on policies of management were analyzed.

The southern whites studied, mostly coming from farms and small towns in the south central States, in particular, western Tennessee, were members of many small clusters of migrants concentrated in an ethnically heterogeneous portion of the near west side of Chicago. 150 white migrants were interviewed and the actual behavior of these and other southern white migrants were observed. Also, non-southerners and Negroes who were part of the social world of these migrants were interviewed.

Findings: It was found that a "vague, but recognizable, stereotype of the southern white migrant was held by many non-southerners, and that they were regarded as a distinct, cohesive, ethnic group . . . were generally regarded by non-southern whites as a culturally inferior group." The southern white migrants found themselves only one group in a mosaic of diverse ethnic groups. They felt a relative loss of status which contributed to the development of a defensive group consciousness. In contrast to the intimacy of the small town, the impersonality of the city gave them the impression that they were disliked. However, no formal in-group organization was formed. The "hillbillies," continued to regard the South as "home," and constituted a marginal and unstable element in the institutions and associations of the area in which they now lived. Visits to the South were frequent, and many families returned to the South periodically for a year or two.

On the basis of the policies and practices of management in fourteen plants, "it is evident that the presence of southern white workers did not cause an increase in discrimination against Negroes. In plants where management took a firm stand against discrimination, southerners not only failed to incite other white workers to voice protests, but at least some 'hillbillies' accepted the policy themselves by taking employment. In other plants, already existing policies of non-employment of Negroes, arrived at independently of the influence of southern whites, made it possible for the migrants to enjoy the dubious fruits of racial segregation in employment as fully as they might have in the South. The primary significance of the presence of the 'hillbillies' was that their availability made possible the continuation of previously established discriminatory practices in spite of a shortage of local white labor."

LEE, FRANK F., "The Race Relations Patterns by Areas of Behavior in a Small New England Town," American Sociological Review

Vol. 19, 1954, pp. 138-143.

The article concerns a "field study investigation of the race relations patterns and the 'place' of the Negro in a small New England town." The investigation sought to determine whether the patterns differ with the areas of behavior.

The locale was Bramford, Connecticut, a small, industrial, vacation and suburban town ten miles east of New Haven with a population just over 10,000, of which 170, or about 1.5 to 2% of the total, were Negroes. Until about 1850, Bramford was exclusively Protestant; today the Roman Catholic population comprises about half the town. Both ethnically and in its distribution of gainful workers, Bramford compares rather closely with other New England, and, in particular, Connecticut communities. Yankees are approximately 40% of the population, Scandinavians 14%, Slavs and Italians 13% each, and Irish 10%. The town's largest industry is an iron and steel foundry, employing about 900 persons, most of the out of town Negroes. There is another large employer, a wire mill company with just over 500 workers, most of them Negroes. There are also four other small industries or businesses, all of whom employ or have employed Negroes.

Information was gathered by three methods: (1) interviews conducted on an open-end basis with the assistance of schedules; (2) participant observation (the author lived in the town during the two years of the investigation); (3) examination of documentary material.

Findings: About 3/5 of the Negro population lives in a semi-segregated area within one or two blocks of the railroad and the major industries. This area is commonly known to the townspeople as the "Negro section of the town."

"In the occupational sphere there is a good deal of job discrimination." Negro women, on the whole, can get jobs only as domestics or as semi- or un-skilled labor. Those with greater skill will almost always have to go out of town, mostly to New Haven, in order to get a job. Negro men are also limited to semi- or unskilled labor. However, they are treated equally with whites up to and possibly including the supervisory ranks. Beyond that they do not go. There is little contact between the workers of both races outside the job.

"In religious activities more complete separation of the two races was found than anywhere else save in housing and some jobs." In this area, there also was found the only institution paralleling that found in white society, e.g., the local African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. When Negroes do attend the white churches, it is usually for special services, and little segregation or antagonism is apparent at those times. However, Negroes wishing to join any of the churches would possibly be admitted to some.

"In adult social activities of all types, there was found little joint Negro-white participation." Interracial social contacts exist on only the most superficial level. Only two formal organizations, the Chamber of Commerce and the Town Band, have Negro members. On the adolescent level, Negroes participate with whites in only three social activities: the American Legion Baseball Club, the Boy Scouts, and the Junior Musical Arts Society.

There is no consistent pattern in the use of public facilities, discrimination, however, being encountered. Aside from voting, Negroes do not participate in any aspect of politics or government.

"The school system was the 'freest' area of behavior with regard to the degree of Negro participation. Negro children engage in almost all school activities with as much liberty as white children." Social contacts between white and Negro students, although limited, are increasing.

The race relation patterns do not seem to be uniform but rather, vary with the institutional area involved. The separation of Negroes from whites is most marked in housing, and in a decreasing order, in the more desirable jobs, in social and religious activities, public facilities, politics, and lastly, in education. The 'place' definition of the Negro in the North seems to be less clear in detail, and thus there is some possibility for deviation.

LONDON, JACK, AND HAMMETT, RICHARD, "Impact of Company Policy Upon Discrimination," Sociology and Sociological Research
Vol. 39, 1954, pp. 88-91.

This study focuses upon two industrial plants in the mid-west which were strikingly similar, with the one significant difference that one company and its associated union actively implemented its policy against discrimination, while the other merely announced it without providing for effective implementation. Central interest in the study is upon the consequences of this difference.

Data was obtained from interviews with a representative sample of local union leaders and inactive members employed by the two companies, supplemented by interviews with various members of the management group of each plant.

The employees of each company were represented by firmly established local unions affiliated with the internationals within the CIO. One is referred to as the "steel local" (USA), and the other as the "auto local" (UAW). In each industry there was a comparable range of skills; comparable rates of pay; Negro and Jewish participation in the union organization; comparable size of minority groups (steel—30%, ⅓ of which were Mexican; auto—20%, almost all of which were Negroes); both unions were democratic with aggressive leadership; and the organizational policy of both companies and both unions was opposed to discrimination because of race, religion, or nationality.

Sixty-two per cent of the leaders and 37% of the inactive members of the steel local reported that the company discriminated against Negroes or Mexicans. The leaders were firmly convinced that discrimination would be much worse if it were not for the vigilance of the union.

In contrast, 15% of the leaders and 15% of the inactive members of the auto locals reported that the company discriminated. The theme of cooperation between the company and the union on the issue of race discrimination was expressed repeatedly.

What accounts for the difference? At the time of the study, the steel company had not instituted a training program for its supervisors to acquaint them with its policy of non-discrimination. Each departmental superintendent was given freedom to operate his own department as he saw fit, as long as he secured efficient and profitable results.

In contrast, the auto plant, in addition to advocating a strong non-discriminatory policy for many years, has circulated this policy along with other approved company policies. The policy is reviewed in all supervisor's manuals. New employees are told about the policy, and the company also hired Negroes in the employment office. Management checked periodically to see how the policy was working out.

"There can be no dispute with the importance of the issuance of policy statements regarding race relations by those in authority. Such issuance of policy statements defines the expected behavior of those in the situation and offers yardsticks for the measurement of subsequent behavior. But simple enunciation of policy is never sufficient to produce the behavior desired. In the two situations cited above, the only significant difference is that one company and union actively implemented its . . . policy . . . while the other merely announced it without providing for effective implementation."

WEAVER, ROBERT C., "Integration in Public and Private Housing," The Annals **Vol. 304, 1956, pp. 86-97.**

The restrictions on housing for Negroes provide an important means of delaying participation and acceptance of non-whites in the educational, political, economic, and social aspects of American life.

Intergroup contacts, per se, need not, and do not always, lead to "democratic interracial understanding."

Interracial patterns of living, in housing, have proved practical in many instances where they have been tried; and have represented an advance toward integrating Negroes in the total life of the community.

Fear of losing social status is the basic deterrent to such integration. Hence, it is the attitude formation and behavior directing attitudes of the larger society which tends to affect the development in the key area of housing.

It is more difficult to introduce white tenants into a previously all-Negro or predominantly Negro public housing project than to bring non-whites into a previously all-white development.

Negroes tend to move into already deteriorating white neighborhoods after the whites have started leaving. This entrance accelerates the departure of the whites.

Negroes are most highly concentrated in projects built on sites within established non-white ghettos.

REDDICK, L. D., "The Negro Policy of the American Army since World War II," The Journal of Negro History Vol. 38, 1953, pp. 194-215.

Has the Negro policy of the armed forces of the U. S. undergone any real change since the second World War?

At the end of World War II, it was still possible to characterize the policy of the Army by four generalizations:

1) The overall preference of the Army has been that there should be no Negroes in it at all, but since this preference must be qualified by need, Negroes are to be used only when and where they are required by manpower shortages and by public pressures.

2) The overall preference of the Army has been that no Negroes should be in positions of authority in it but if they must be, they should be limited and should be over Negro personnel only.

3) The overall preference of the Army has been that its Negro soldiers should be segregated not only from their non-Negro fellow soldiers but also from non-Negro civilians—especially women—at home and abroad.

4) The Army's overall preference has been that there should be no Negro heroes. But if there must be awards granted to Negro soldiers for extraordinary endeavor, these should be for preserving supplies and other military properties, for saving lives of Army personnel—especially of white officers—rather than for heroic performance, under fire, against the enemy.

Forces moving for change:

1) The changing economic and political position of the Negro in American life;

2) The new position of leadership assumed by the U. S. in world affairs;

3) Foreign opinion favorable to the Negro caused as a result of personal contact with Negro troops during the war;

4) The political and ideological competition of the cold war.

By June of 1948 things were moving to a critical point. Negro Americans and their friends were definitely against military segregation while Army officials, backed by southern Congressmen, were for it. In July, President Truman signed Executive Order 9981, calling for equality of opportunity and treatment in the American armed forces.

Just before the outbreak of the Korean War, the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity made its report entitled "Freedom to Serve." Five forward steps could be reported:

1) All jobs were now open to Negro personnel.

2) All Army schools were now open to all without any quota restriction.

3) For the first time, Negroes with special skills could be assigned to any unit in need of such skills.

4) Personnel serving in racially mixed units would be integrated on the job, in the barracks, and in the messes.

5) The quota (10%) on Negro strength in the Army was abolished.

The Korean War changed the picture:

1) It heightened interest in the military in general, and jimcrow in particular.

2) The color question was prominent in the war—the enemy insisted that it was a war of colored peoples against white people.

3) Negro troops received more first class military decorations than at any time since the Civil War.

4) Negro troops in the Korean War were given more favorable publicity in the American press than at any time in history since the Civil War.

Military jimcrow was an issue in the 1952 presidential campaign.

Conclusions: "As of now, the Army has not clearly and completely abandoned its jimcrow policy, but it has gone a long way on that road. Or we may say, it has been pushed, dragged, and cajoled a long way on that road. The practices have not yet caught up with policy."

Factors Affecting The Process of Desegregation

CARTER, ELMER A., "Policies and Practices of Discrimination Commissions," The Annals Vol. 304, 1956, pp. 62-77.

This study tests the hypotheses that discrimination may be dealt with effectively by the law in many circumstances, in such a way as to attain the goals of both formal acceptance for the Negro and actual acceptance without the threatened conflict, and that this legal action is most effective if it is held in reserve as a final recourse after voluntary persuasion is attempted.

Carter studied the 16 states which have FEPC laws, as well as some federal action in the area of race discrimination dealing with government contracts. The success attained is dependent upon the way in which the law is drawn, the attempts at conciliation short of formal legal sanctions, and the general "atmosphere" helping to effect a settlement. It would be incorrect to take the view that any law would tend to ease racial discrimination.

FLEMING, HAROLD C., "Resistance Movements and Racial Desegregation, The Annals Vol. 304, 1956, pp. 44-52.

The issue of segregation, as it has been posed by the Supreme Court, has resulted in the fact that the South is no longer united in its position on the issue.

The focus of greatest resistance is found in the tradition minded, former plantation states of the Black Belt. Here extremist groups opposing the Court decision have their greatest following. These extremist groups are not only anti-Negro, but take a general position of extreme nationalism and ultra-conservatism. However, there is no evidence to show that this will cause them to lose their following which is interested in the more narrow issue of anti-integration.

The unwillingness of many southern leaders to condone methods of violence by the extremists, the two-edged character of economic and political pressure, and the extreme conservative character of the ideology of these groups which is probably not shared by much of their membership—coupled with the general futility of hoping to do more than delay the desegregation move—all work to make the prospects for success of the extremists highly unlikely.

The concentration of such large numbers of Negroes in these Black Belt states where they are kept at a political and economic disadvantage, prevents them from fully using the influence of their numbers to secure equality. While this situation appears decisive on the local level, it is difficult to tell how much difference that makes in the ability of the Negro to exert effective pressure in the nation as a whole.

KUPFERER, HARRIET J. "An Evaluation of the Integration Potential of a Physical Education Program," The Journal of Educational Sociology **Vol. 28, 1954, pp. 89-96.**

Integration and the promotion of healthy group relations is a responsibility for the entire community. Several areas of education have exceptional possibilities for achieving group integration. Physical education has achieved status in the modern curriculum because of its potential for making humans social beings. This is because physical education is a "doing" activity, creates an *esprit de corps,* etc. This study sought to test the premise that group activity will promote solidarity to surmount racial bigotry.

The study was carried out in the girls' physical education classes in a Connecticut high school. The school was selected because it possessed an adequate physical education program and was located in an area where good integration was absent. The activities thought to have a potential for bettering group relations were: field hockey, soccer, softball and swimming. With the exception of swimming, they were of the "team" type and were all competitive in nature. Four classes of freshmen girls, including whites and Negroes, were studied as they participated in the selected activities.

A sociometric test was used to reveal changes in group acceptance. The "sociometric question" put to the students was based on one criterion and utilized a three choice allowance. The girls were told to list in order the three girls with whom they would most like to work and the three with whom they would least like to work. The choices were employed to construct sociograms in order to note the pattern of relationships as they existed at each period of the testing. A sociometric social status score was computed for each member every two weeks.

Findings

"The results of the research were in some respects disappointing. It was found that in this school few if any positive changes toward integration were effected in the physical education classes." Relatively strong group cleavage remained constant throughout the instructional periods. By and large there were no improvements revealed in the status of Negro students. Each racial group went its own way with little social interaction.

"These findings seem to impel the obvious conclusion relative to the potentials of any area of the curriculum for improving integration . . . It is not the 'subject' which is the determining factor but rather the manner in which it is conducted and the quality of leadership and perception represented by the teacher. . ."

LEWIS, HYLAN, and HILL, MOZELL, "Desegregation, Integration, and the Negro Community," The Annals **Vol. 34, 1956, pp. 116-123.**

The article speculates about the nature of the changes in the Negro community which the process of desegregation and integration is likely to bring.

The analysis of what happens, or is likely to happen, to Negro communities is based on three assumptions:

1) in every Negro community, there is group and personal sensitivity to the facts and prospects of desegregation and integration;

2) the responses of particular communities are functions of many inside and outside factors;

3) the orientation and relations to power of Negro community leaders are among the most important inside factors.

The central thesis is that there is considerable diversity of Negro communities and this will result in a variety of reactions to the prospects of desegregation or integration. The major response, however much integration is attained, will continue to stress participation in the unique elements which the Negro community, as such, can offer Negroes. Thus, while the institutions and associations of Negro communities will tend to become less "racial" and less the major framework for the life and values of the individual Negro, they will continue to persist over time as a competing source of group activity, and to this degree will delay the process of desegregation and integration.

LOGAN, RAYFORD W., "The United States Supreme Court and the Segregation Issue," The Annals Vol. 304, 1956, pp. 10-16.

The writer contends that the status of the Negro, which had worsened from the 1870's to the beginning of this century, has since been steadily improving primarily due to the action of the Supreme Court.

In support of this hypothesis the two trends are separated into two periods, and the court decisions of each are discussed.

1. Era of Adverse Decisions (1873-1910)—during this period most federal action seeking to secure equal rights for the Negro was overruled and state discriminatory legislation was upheld.
2. Era of Favorable Decisions (1911-1955)—After 1910, the trend of court decisions began to be increasingly favorable to the Negro, first demanding equal rights, then integration. This trend was greatly accelerated after the start of World War II. Cases are cited with regard to peonage and involuntary servitude, the franchise, housing, public accomodations, trade unions, picketing, due process, education, etc.

Compliance with these decisions is a crucial factor. The outcome of the decisions on schools depends considerably on the extent and ways in which compliance to these may be achieved.

NABRIT, JAMES M., JR., "Legal Inventions and the Desegregation Process," The Annals Vol. 304, 1956, pp. 35-43.

The author is attempting to test the hypothesis that the states in the South which are trying to evade the decision of the Supreme Court on desegregation have lower standards of education and industrialization than those which comply with the decision.

He finds that the South is by no means "solid" in its opposition to the decision, the reactions varying from locality to locality and from state to state. He found no evidence other than what might be called a "general impression" to support the hypothesis that level of education and industrialization are determining factors in efforts to evade the Court decision.

OSBORNE, IRENE, and BENNETT, RICHARD K., "Eliminating Educational Segregation in the Nation's Capital—1951-1956," The Annals Vol. 304, 1956, pp. 98-108.

Where there is a basis for acceptance of desegregation, but it is slow in going into effect due to uncertainty and fear of the result as well as opposition, the legal impetus to action may be decisive.

Educational and consultative procedures established to keep people informed of the course of desegregation may make the transition smoother by eliminating friction and preventing misunderstandings.

The article describes the action of the American Friends Service Committee with regard to the removal of educational segregation in the nation's capital.

It is clear that the Court decision requiring the end of segregation was instrumental in overcoming the hesitation of the community in moving to an early end of segregation. The groundwork had already been laid for acceptance, and this legal basis gave the justification for early action. Despite this, the move toward integration was in the form of a gradual program, delaying the final result till 1960.

STEPHAN, A. STEPHEN, "Integration and Sparse Negro Populations," School and Society Vol. 81, 1955, pp. 133-35.

"Nowhere in the South could integration in the schools be more readily effected than in the many counties with sparse Negro population in the great expanse of area from Texas to the Appalachians. If there is to be a time-table of integration, here is where it should start."

Fayetteville, Arkansas, with a 2% Negro population, was the first southern city to announce a policy of integration. In this, and other like-situated areas, the maintenance of separate schools or transportation of students to other communities sufficient in size to maintain adequate Negro schools, constitutes a substantial financial burden at a time when southern school districts are hard pressed financially. Integration in Fayetteville, strongly motivated by financial considerations, has occurred at the high school level without incident.

"The experience of Fayetteville may be a stimulus to quicken desegregation in communities with sparse Negro populations already weighed down with heavy school costs, and the action of these communities may hasten desegregation in communities with more substantial Negro minorities."

STEPHAN, A. STEPHEN, "Population Ratios, Racial Attitudes, and Desegregation," Paper read before the meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association, Sociology Section, San Antonio, March 30, 1956.

Are racial attitudes, as reflected by variations in compliance with the Supreme Court desegregation decision, related to the population ratio of Negroes to whites?

Analyzing the question mainly on the basis of information contained in the *Southern School News* and the "Report on the South" in the *New York Times* of March 13, 1956, the author finds that "the ratio of Negro population to white population . . . is the principal factor associated with desegregation. Generally speaking, it is in the area where the ratio is low in which desegregation has taken place or is in process, where the ratio is high, segregation continues." The District of Columbia and Maryland are the only areas in which there are both integrated situations and significant proportions of Negroes.

In the southern states, it is mainly in the counties with a sparsity of Negroes in which there has been any degree of compliance with the Supreme Court decision. In the South, per pupil expenditures for Negroes generally vary inversely with county-population ratios. Laws designed to circumvent the Supreme Court decision vary in stringency with the proportion of Negroes. The highest percentages of votes in favor of Virginia's amendment to allow tuition grants for private schooling were in the cities and counties with the hghest percentage of Negroes.

Economic compulsion may accelerate compliance in the low Negro counties. Successful integration in those places might be the means of promoting gradual integration in areas with more substantial Negro minorities.

STEPHAN, A. STEPHEN, "A Study of Some Factors Affecting the Decision of Negro High School Students to Enroll in Previously All-White High Schools, St. Louis, 1955," Paper read at the annual meeting of the Midwest Sociological Society, April, 1956.

When new districts were drawn in St. Louis in accordance with a decision to integrate the schools, students were given their choice as to whether they would remain at their old school, or go to the one specified in the new plan. Of 447 students in a Negro High School eligible to transfer, 137 did not transfer, but re-enrolled in their old school.

Sociological research has established that 1) the level of educational attainment decreases as socio-economic level decreases; 2) attitudes toward education are more favorable in higher than in lower status groups; and 3) the level of school performance decreases as the socio-economic level decreases. Negroes in St. Louis have a generally lower level of economic well-being compared to that of the white population. It was therefore postulated that the group of students who transferred would differ from the group which did not by having a higher socio-economic status, greater educational attainment, but that sex and age level would not vary.

The study revealed no significant differences between the two groups with regard to socio-economic status as measured by the index constructed, or with regard to academic achievement. It was found that grade level and age did vary significantly, with the majority of seniors remaining, and the majority of freshmen, sophomores, and juniors transferring. Senior girls remained, while girls in other grade levels transferred in greater proportion than the boys.

The author suggests, admittedly without empirical verification, that in these particular circumstances the group that remained was united around a common bond of attachment to the school, while the group that transferred had a bond stemming from ethnicity rather than status. Had the ethnic bond been absent, the students might have acted in accordance with the original hypotheses.

WRIGHT, MARION T., "Extending Civil Rights in New Jersey Through the Division Against Discrimination," The Journal of Negro History Vol. 38, 1953, pp. 91-107.

Conflicts in the political, economic and industrial pattern of New Jersey have made the state one of the trial grounds for the solution of problems which have arisen in other states.

Problems involving integration and prejudice can be effectively controlled (at least as to observable manifestations) through legal and administrative action.

In spite of progressive enactments, such as civil rights laws, segregation and discrimination continued to exist (through the 1920's) and in many areas tended to increase wherever the colored population approximated 15% of the total group.

An historical survey of New Jersey discloses that north Jersey has tended to follow the practices of New York, while south Jersey has been inclined to adopt the social practices of the contiguous southern areas.

In a desegregation process there is always the vital question—What will become of the Negro teachers? This problem has caused many Negroes to oppose integration to avoid loss of teaching or administrative positions. Under the new constitution and present integrative procedures there has been a gain of 166 Negro teachers between 1946 and 1952. This is in part due to the fact that New Jersey has a law which protects teachers who have secured tenure, and has an enforceable fair employment practices act. It is very important to have specific provision for implementation of such an act, as attested by the difficulties of states where this is not the case. (Illinois, for example.)

Another factor speeding integration is the fact that war is a period of high idealism with respect to human relations. The decline of segregation and prejudice is partly a result of this idealistic fervor of the 1940's.

Through proper procedures, desegregation can be effectively implemented, but it must be kept in mind even where schools are desegregated through official edict, that many children will, in effect, continue in segregated schools by means of segregation through residential restrictions.

Negro-White Differentials In Opportunities, Interests and Achievements

ANDERSON, ARNOLD C., "Inequalities in Schooling in the South," American Journal of Sociology Vol. 60, 1955, pp. 547-561.

Few goods in American life are as uniformly distributed as schooling. The South today has a generation of young adult Negroes possessing as much formal education as the white draftees of World War I. Nevertheless, school attainment varies widely within the population of the South: among states, between farm and city dwellers, and between whites and Negroes. The distribution of schooling tells a great deal about social structure. The established racial structure of the South has loosened at disparate rates in various areas, as has the status structure among whites. Because of uneven progress in educational attainment, the schooling of Negroes in some sections of the South surpasses that of whites in other sections.

An analysis was made utilizing census data for three age generations. The 25 to 29 year olds of 1940 were compared to those of the same age in 1950. The 50 to 54 year olds were selected to represent an older generation that left school before World War I.

Findings:

Almost all the 25 to 29 year olds of 1940 had completed the 5th grade, except in the South, where one-tenth of the whites and one-third of the Negroes remained at the 4th grade level or below. By 1950, one-tenth of the whites still persisted below the 5th grade level on Southern farms. Among Negroes, taking all residence groups together, the proportion dropped from one-third to one-fourth. The oldest Negroes received half as much schooling as whites in the South, but the young group of 1950 had about three-fourths as much, bringing them near the median for white of a generation earlier.

Certain states are consistently high or low in degree of race differentiation. Mississippi and Florida show the widest gap between the races. Tennessee, Virginia and North Carolina show comparatively moderate discrimination. Other states are more erratic.

The extreme diversity of educational levels within the South is imperfectly realized if attention is confined to comparisons within particular sub-populations. Within the youngest group, the percentage of whites receiving fewer than five years of schooling ranges from two (Florida and Mississippi cities) to sixteen (Louisiana farms); and among Negroes, from twelve (Tennessee and Virginia cities) to fifty-three (Louisiana farms). Among the oldest whites, the range was from seven (Florida and Mississippi cities) to forty-three (Louisiana farms); and among Negroes, from forty-five (Arkansas cities) to eighty-two (Louisiana farms).

Conclusions:

"It is apparent," the author says, "that the structure of race relations is a mosaic of different situations in various parts of the South." There are a variety of racial discrimination patterns in education within the South. "Broadly speaking, degrees of race discrimination in educational attainments reflect a combination of the stage of educational progress in general and the extent to which the two races are members of distinctive subcultures." Where educational progress is rapid for whites but social distinctions between the races are great, high indexes of racial inequality emerge at each attainment level. Where there has been little emphasis on education, a mass of semi-literate whites share disadvantages with the Negroes, but a white minority completing elementary and high school stands apart from the rest of the whites and from virtually all the Negroes, as in rural Louisiana. Where racial distinctions are moderate, the value placed upon schooling extends to both racial groups with a smaller lag of Negro behind white.

BOYD, GEORGE F., "The Levels of Aspiration of White and Negro Children in a non-Segregated Elementary School," Journal of Social Psychology Vol. 36, 1952, pp. 191-196.

The author sought to discover if there were differences in the level of aspiration of white and Negro children. Twenty-five of each from a non-segregated elementary school in Boston were chosen for study. They are reported as comparable in age, IQ and economic status. The author feels that the tests used and the manner in which they were administered concealed the purpose of studying "racial" differences.

Results of the two tests and one questionnaire used show that the Negroes have higher occupational aspirations, desire more foreign trips and larger automobiles, and expect to be better students. The mean income desired by the white group is higher, but the modes of the two groups are the same, and the Negro median is slightly higher.

Twenty-four of the twenty-eight people selected by the Negro group as "greatest person in the world" and as "person to be like" were Negroes. The author feels this to be very important in view of the fact that the children have been raised in a society dominated by whites.

The author surmises that the higher aspirations of the Negro children may be the result of insecure feelings. Or, variously, the Negro child has better defense mechanisms to meet defeat and disappointment and may therefore more easily set his goals higher.

FULK, BYRON E., and HARRELL, THOMAS W., "Negro-White Army Test Scores and Last School Grade," Journal of Applied Psychology Vol. 36, 1952, pp. 34-35.

Primary interest in this study was with a comparison of Negroes and whites on the Army General Classification Test (AGCT) in World War II. Scores were obtained from Manning and Informational Rosters of various organizations of the Army Air Force. 2174 white scores were compared with 2010 Negro scores.

Results of the comparison show that there are statistically significant differences between the mean scores of both groups, favoring the whites, at each grade level.

The rosters did not indicate place of birth or home address, so that no control for region or quality of schooling was possible.

BULLOCK, HENRY ALLEN, "A Comparison of the Academic Achievements of White and Negro High School Graduates," Journal of Educational Research Vol. 44, 1950, pp. 179-192.

Unequal educational opportunities between whites and Negroes result in a difference in the amount of knowledge gained. These differential educational provisions give one group a handicap sufficient to place it behind in performance on a common test. Differential expenditure for the education of different races results in a level of academic achievement unfavorable to the group receiving a smaller amount. This study attempts to meet the need for an investigation which shows the degree of difference between knowledge of whites and Negroes.

The sample studied consisted of 1697 students, 503 white and 1194 Negro. All were graduates of Texas high schools and were freshmen enrolled in Texas colleges for the first semester in September 1947. The white students were enrolled at the state university, the state agricultural and mechanical college, and four state teachers colleges. The Negroes were drawn from three private senior colleges, the Negro state agricultural and mechanical college, and three private junior colleges. The difference in representation from the groups was due to differential willingness to cooperate in the study. The difference in number of students representing the racial groups was due to convenience of observation. Random selection was achieved by use of alphabetical lists.

The main test used was the Iowa High School Content Examination. This was designed to provide a quick and accurate estimate of the students' knowledge of (1) English grammar and literature; (2) mathematics; (3) science; (4) history and social studies.

"The methods employed in this study," says the author, "necessarily impose some limitations upon its conclusions. We should keep in mind that tests are not capable of pure separation of what is learned through formal training and that learned incidental to group living. The process of education is such a total thing that many activities and conditions of our lives become our teachers . . . Differences that may be shown to exist between white and Negro students as to how much they know after finishing high school may be attributed not only to differences in their respective schools but also to differences in their respective ways of life."

Probably the most fundamental difference in educational opportunity in Texas (where differentials are smaller than in most southern states) is in value of school property. White schools have received about 94% of all money invested in Texas public school property and equipment. In 1945, they had an investment value of $285 per pupil as compared to $90 per Negro pupil.

Findings:

The total group (whites and Negroes) tested showed median scores below the 12th grade group on whom the test was standardized. About 83% made scores below the 50th percentile of the standard group; 57.2% were below the 25th percentile.

When the white and Negro test scores were separated, however, white students appeared significantly better and Negro students significantly poorer than the standard group. The total scores of white students ranged from 105 to 322 with a median of 199; those of Negro students ranged from 75 to 233 with a median of 150. 98%

of the Negro students were below the median made by the whites. Only 3.4% of the whites were below the Negro median.

The pattern of racial difference is the same as far as performance on the specific test goes. Negro students fell far behind in each of the four subject matter areas. As far as the various colleges represented go, the following is the order from highest to lowest of the median performances of their students: White state agricultural and mechanical college; white state university; white state teachers; Negro state agricultural and mechanical; Negro private senior; and Negro private junior. White male students had a median of 202; females, 186. Most of the white females were registered in the state teachers college which ranked lowest in the white group. The median scores of Negro male and female students was about the same.

The size of the town where the high school from which the student graduated was located did not effect the picture substantially. Students from the metropolis had an advantage over rural areas, villages and small towns, but Negro students remained below whites in achievement. Students whose parents were in the "white collar workers" category made the highest median total scores in both racial groups. The children of service workers and laborers, skilled and semi-skilled workers, and farmers followed in that order in both groups, although differences among Negroes were less marked.

"The facts presented in this research point to the general conclusion that Negro students, assuming equality of academic aptitude, achieve less well than white students."

HARRISON, E. C., "A Study of Occupational Attitudes," Journal of Negro Education Vol. 22, 1953, pp. 471-475.

Six hundred freshmen (Negro) and 108 faculty members were asked to rank 26 selected occupations on a prestige scale. Scores were assigned on the basis of the median rank achieved. Primary interest was in the extent to which teachers can help students acquire greater appreciation for, and give recognition to all occupations that are "socially necessary." Both teachers and students ranked occupations similarly; professional and white collar occupations received highest ranks. Various posts in the school systems also received relatively high rating.

The author concludes that the students are not likely to be altered much by their teachers during their careers because of their initial similarity. The fact that "a high proportion of Negro college students select teaching as a vocation reflects the tendency for Negro youth to select occupations that do not require aggressive competitive action."

LEE, EVERETT S., "Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration: A Philadelphia Test of the Klineberg Hypothesis," American Sociological Review Vol. 16, 1951, pp. 227-233.

Since World War I, the migration of southern Negroes to northern cities has effected a remarkably rapid redistribution of the Negro population of the U. S. Are these migrants more intelligent than those who remained in the South? The Army intelligence tests of World War I showed a definite superiority of the northern over the southern Negro. Was this because of selective migration, or can the superior showing of the northern Negro be laid to a more stimulating environment?

Klineberg made tests in New York City which indicated that IQ scores of Negroes in that city increased with length of residence. This study is an attempt to test the hypothesis that there is a significant improvement in the IQ scores of southern-born Negro children as the length of residence in Philadelphia increases.

The following conditions were felt essential to an adequate testing of the hypothesis: 1) a repetition of tests on the same individual; 2) tests of specific abilities; 3) a control group of non-migrants who do not differ from the southern-born in the matter of pre-school training.

Students from nine junior and senior high schools were tested (starting with the first grade). A major criterion in the selection of schools was the percentage of Negro students, which varied from a low of 23 to a high of 92.

Findings: "Klineberg's hypothesis that there is an increase in the intelligence scores of southern Negro migrants to New York with increasing length of residence in New York is, in the main, substantiated by independent evidence in Philadelphia. There is a significant and continuous upward trend in the intelligence test ratings of southern-born Negro children as their length of residence in Philadelphia increases. This increase manifests itself not only on a general intelligence test, but also on each of the sub-tests of the Chicago Tests of primary mental abilities with the single exception of memory. The increase in general score cannot, therefore, be attributed to an increase in any one specific ability. Nor can the increase be laid to increasing familiarity with the tests or the testing situation, or to a trend to be found in all students, since there is no such increase in the Philadelphia-born students. It can further be shown that the migrant children who entered the first grade in Philadelphia are, on the first three tests definitely inferior to the Philadelphia born on the Philadelphia series of tests, but by the time they have reached the sixth grade, there is no significant difference in their test ratings and those of the Philadelphia-born group, who like them, had not attended kindergarten.

McGURK, FRANK, C. J., "On White and Negro Test Performances and Socio-Economic Factors," Journal for Abnormal and Social Psychology Vol. 48, 1953, pp. 448-450.

Do Negroes score lower than whites on various tests because of the presence of culturally weighted questions? Does difference in socio-economic status make a difference in test scores?

The scores of Negro and white high school seniors on cultural and non-cultural psychological test questions were analyzed to try to answer these questions. The results indicate that the "cultural" factor is not discriminatory, since the Negro is closer to the white on culturally-weighted test material than on other materials. Moreover, regardless of the type of test material, the differences between Negro and white increase as socio-economic level of both groups increases, leading the authors to conclude that "there is no evidence that an increase in the socio-economic status of the Negro is accompanied by a decrease in racial-test-score differences."

NORTH, ROBERT D., "The Intelligence of American Negroes," Anti-Defamation League, November 1956.

A scholarly evaluation of the research literature is made by the author. Recognizing that the question involved, long a subject of academic interest, has recently taken on serious practical implications in the matter of integration, North reviews the research on Negro-white intelligence differentials from pre-World War I to the present. The study analyzes the concept of "race"; the role of selective migration; the factor of schooling; the relation of race mixture to mental ability; and evaluates the "developmental," "biological," and "cultural" approaches to the study of differential intelligence. The problem of culture-bias in the measuring instruments is appraised. The significance of ranges of ability as opposed to the "mean I.Q." is recognized.

The author's conclusions are as follows:

1. In general, the average intelligence scores of Negroes falls below that of whites in the same geographical region.
2. There is no proof that such differences as are found between the mental ability levels of Negro and white groups are related to genetically-determined "racial" traits.
3. The mental ability differences between Negro and white groups are of an order of magnitude that could be produced by environmental factors.
4. Improvement of the environmental and educational opportunities of groups of Negro children tends to raise their average I.Q.'s and to decrease the Negro-white disparity.
5. There is no proof that Negroes, as a group, are biologically inferior to whites, nor that their potentialities for educational and cultural development are more limited.

The "burden of proof" question in the realm of science is stated by the author. Since studies of Negro-white differences in mental ability typically involve samples, and since there are usually a number of uncontrolled variables, such as genetic admixture, socio-economic background, education and motivation, the burden of proof rests with those who would claim that there are true differentials between the innate mental ability levels of Negro and white groups."

A definitive bibliography of published research dealing with Negro-white intelligence differentials is included in the monograph.

"Outlook For Graduates from Segregated Schools," The Negro History Bulletin Vol. 18, 1955, pp. 117.

The National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students reported that in the 1953-54 academic year the movement of Negro students from segregated high schools to non-segregated colleges (both North and South) was the largest ever. A "talent search" was undertaken by the NSSFNS on a $170,000 grant from the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education.

This search also produced statistical affirmation that the "separate" school system was unequal. It was found that only half of the top 10% of the senior classes in the 81 highest ranking Negro high schools in the South, possessed minimum college qualifications. Only 6% of the Negro group did as well as or better than the average of a group from the nation as a whole.

Of the 1,485 students who constituted the top 10% of their classes, 737 qualified for college admission and 399 indicated a desire to go to interracial colleges; 207 completed applications, 197 were accepted, and 191 finally enrolled. Of the 388 students who showed no interest in interracial colleges, 70% applied to Negro colleges, where 90% were accepted. These students favored Negro colleges because of lower cost, greater confidence of admission, and anticipated easier social adjustment.

Negroes represent 10% of our population but less than 1% of interracial colleges.

STRONG, EDWARD K. JR., "Interests of Negroes and Whites," The Journal of Social Psychology Vol. 35, 1952, pp. 139-150.

Is it true that frustration affects interests? Do Negroes indicate that they prefer certain types of things because they had the opportunity denied them rather than because they have a real interest? This was the claim of H. H. Hartshorn in a University of Minnesota Ph.D. thesis in 1948, and the author of the present article critically analyses this thesis.

The original data was derived from a study of the vocational and other interests of Negro lawyers, life insurance agents and physicians as compared to corresponding groups of whites. It was found that Negroes have a greater number of likes and a correspondingly smaller number of dislikes.

Strong finds that the two samples studied were not equivalent, and that the whites were tested about 15 years earlier than the Negroes. Either or both of these may account for the differences encountered. Additionally, the differences may be due to just plain different sets of interests, or to the different ways they responded to the same items. But no support is found for the assertion that denial of opportunity leads to enhanced interest in that opportunity.

Attitudes: Components, Correlates and Measurement

BARDIS, PANOS D., Albion College, "A Mathematical and Statistical Experiment with Bogardus' Social Distance Scale."

(The following is an abstract of a paper read at the 1956 Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Society held in Detroit in September. The abstract is the author's own.)

This is an *ex post facto* experiment dealing with the influence of international and interracial contacts on social distance. The sample consisted of 198 foreign students studying at Purdue University and 8 native American women who had dated or married students from other lands.

The data were obtained by means of extensive and intensive interviews which involved Bogardus' Social Distance Scale. The writer introduced the concept M.S.D. or Mean Social Distance—similar to Bogardus' G.R.D.Q.—which facilitated the statistical manipulation of the quantitative data. Some of the tests employed were: F-tests, t-tests, t'-tests, analysis of variance, Bartlett's Chi-square, logarithmic and square root transformations, the Satterthwaite approximation, and the Duncan-Bonner method for comparing pair combinations of means.

Two main hypotheses were tested: (1) The M.S.D. of foreign students lies between 1.00 and 2.00, namely, between the close-kinship and personal friendship responses. (2) The M.S.D. of Westerners is lower than that of Orientals.

The findings were as follows: The Hawaiians made an M.S.D. of 1.22, the East Indians 1.27, the Filipinos 1.31, the Scandinavians 1.44, the Latin Americans 1.51, the Chinese 1.55, and the Greeks 1.72. Of the 21 possible pair combinations, only 4 presented significant differences. In general, both the quantitative and qualitative data indicated that international and interracial contacts, with the exception of a few cases characterized by unpleasant experiences, tended to reduce social distance.

BIRD, CHARLES, MONACHESI, ELIO D., and BURDICK, HARVEY, "Infiltration and the Attitudes of White and Negro Parents and Children," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology
Vol. 47, 1952, pp. 688-699.

Within the last decade there have been serious attempts to lessen discrimination against Negroes in Minneapolis. This is a study concerning the reduction of group tensions there.

Questionnaires were administered to 393 whites and 31 Negroes in the 3rd, 4th and 5th grades. On the basis of the scores on these tests, 152 whites and all the

Negroes were selected for further testing. Teachers were tested to indicate whether Negro children would be regarded by the teachers as manifesting more behavior problems than the whites. A separate questionnaire was prepared and administered to the parents of the children.

Findings included the following: 1) the social status of the home bears no clear relationship to racial attitudes; 2) the Negroes like their neighborhood to a greater extent than do the whites in the same neighborhood; 3) the consensus of white parents is that Negroes are a threat to property values in a neighborhood having a preponderance of white residents; 4) the white children have higher IQ's than the Negro children; 5) Negro children manifest very little prejudice toward non-Jewish white children, but considerable prejudice toward Jewish children; 6) Negro adults are more tolerant than the white adults in their attitudes towards other ethnic and racial groups; 7) white children expressed prejudice toward Jews and Negroes to an equal and considerable degree; 8) white parents resembled each other more than they resembled their children in attitudes toward Negroes; 9) teachers felt that Negro children present more behavior problems than white children.

Conclusions:

1) a small proportion of white adults (20%) showed few or no antipathies toward Negroes; 2) a larger proportion were definitely antagonistic and resentful of what they considered infringements by Negroes upon the rights of white people; 3) the majority of adult respondents were ambivalent in their attitudes; 4) adults who are prejudiced against Negroes are most likely those who will be prejudiced against Jews; 5) the white children were not as neatly stylized in their attitudes toward Negroes and Jews, since, as a group, they had not developed a clear order of preference between them.

A number of variables were shown not to bear any clear cut relationship to racial prejudices as expressed by white adults, among them being social status, educational level, occupational status, affiliation with a church, and attendance at church services.

CASE, HERMAN M., "Attitudes Toward Desegregation: A Study of Oklahoma A & M Undergraduates"

A three per cent random sample of the institution's 7,610 undergraduate students was drawn. Of the respondents thus selected, 89.9% of the sample filled out and returned the pre-tested, self-administering questionnaire. This high percentage of response was attributable to the persistent cooperation of students on the research team, the campus newspaper, *The Daily O'Collegian,* and the college administration. The response of almost 90% of the base sample was checked for reliability using known parameters. Within limits of chance error, there is statistical confidence that no bias operated in the drawing of the sample.

Response to the question: "In campus life, how much would you accept Negro students in: your classrooms; residence; student government; athletics; cafeteria; college dances; social groups; professional clubs?" almost 78% said they would accept Negroes in the classroom to *some* extent or even *very much.* Other things being equal, it was expected that conformity to the majority norm would be able to neutralize the 22% *little* or *none* acceptors, if not ultimately change them to acceptance. Very similar proportions were delineated with regard to acceptance in *student government athletics; cafeteria; professional clubs.* The pattern changes to non-acceptance in dimensions of campus life requiring more intimate interaction.

Only 37.6% of the students would give *some* or *very much* acceptance to Negroes in college housing, 46.3% acceptance at college dances, and 41% in social groups. The response pattern for these latter three items is not unique in a state which has practiced segregation for half a century. The surprising thing is the proportion of positive acceptance which certainly stamped Oklahoma as a state not of the "deep South" variety. Of some interest is the fact that, except in the occupational field, well over two-thirds of the respondents had no contact at all with Negroes.

Other questions revealed that: 42% of the students said it doesn't matter whether they are taught by a white or Negro instructor; 38% said segregation in schools should be completely eliminated immediately; 57.6% disapproved of the continued existence of segregation in churches; 62.4% disapproved of it in the professions; 60.5% in transportation; 54.6% in restaurants; 52.7% in theaters. Only with regard to housing and swimming pools did the proportion shift to approval of continued segregation—46% approved it in housing, and 51.2% approved segregation in swimming pools. When asked, "How do you think the Supreme Court has handled the problem of school segregation thus far?" 77% of the students said fairly or very well.

CASE, HERMAN M., and ADAMS, PAUL G., "Attitudes Toward Desegregation: A Study of County Extension Agents and 4-H Club Members

From the beginning, 4-H Club work in Oklahoma has been on a segrated basis. Meetings, activities and awards have been provided separately for white and Negro club members. The number of Negro extension agents in the state has depended upon county funds available for Negro extension work and the number of Negroes in a given county living on farms compared with the white farm population in the same county.

Under this arrangement, white county extension agents have provided information and instruction to Negro club members and their local leaders. The white agents have not been forced to assist Negro local 4-H Clubs, but have done so because there was a need for such assistance and there were no Negro extension agents in the county. In such instances, the Negro members have done their work in local clubs composed entirely of members of their own race.

The purpose of this study was to secure data from county extension agents, men and women of both races, and from older 4-H Club members to serve as a basis for predicting any problems that might arise in integrating 4-H Club work in Oklahoma.

Every county extension agent in the state was sent a questionnaire. Of the 155 questionnaires sent out to white extension agents, 84 or 54.2% were returned. All Negro extension agents were contacted and 17 or 73.9% responded.

From the State 4-H Club office list giving the names of white and Negro members, a random sample was drawn. Seventy-three questionnaires were sent out and 35 or 48% responded.

Thus, the following findings are based on the responses of county agents and club members from 69 of Oklahoma's 77 counties.

1. The vast majority of white agents and club members were in favor of retaining segregation *as long as legal practice permits*. The reverse was true of Negro agents and club members who predominantly wanted to *permit both Negro 4-H leaders and Negro boys and girls to enter white 4-H clubs*. More significantly, the data suggest

that as a next choice, when *legal* practice no longer permits, the white respondents agents and members would agree to desegregation.

2. Almost 55% of the white agents would either *not mind* or *would accept willingly and cheerfully* the prospect of organizing and supervising mixed groups of Negro and white boys and girls in the 4-H clubs. None of them indicated that this possibility would cause them to *move* or to *discontinue working with 4-H clubs.* Negro agents and members indicated, overwhelmingly, favor at the prospect of integration, but white club members favored this possibility less than any of the groups.

3. The same pattern of responses appeared in answer to the question, "What would be your attitude toward working in a 4-H club with both white and Negro supervisors?"

4. While 52.4% of the white agents and 57.7% of the white club members indicated they *would prefer not to work under such arrangement,* (with a 4-H Club leader or superior administrator of the opposite race) it is significant that almost 50% of the white agents said they would either *not mind* or *would accept willingly and cheerfully* the condition of working under Negroes.

Caution must be observed in generalizing from these data. Nevertheless, the prediction could be made that there would be little difficulty in working out a plan to integrate 4-H club work in Oklahoma. This was based on the relatively high correlation of both Negro and white agent responses *and* the fact that a number of white extension agents have already had experience in organizing and supervising local Negro 4-H Clubs.

It was also noted, however, that where white agents are given some beforehand opportunity (such as workshops) to fully understand the import of the impending shift, integration would best succeed. While this group appeared for the most part to be ready to cooperate in the change, a smaller but still significant number of white agents appeared to be "on the fence" or, in fact, unfavorable to desegregation. This latter group, as well as the more favorable one will be looked to for advice and encouragement by the young white 4-Her's who indicated a less favorable attitude. If the agents cannot be resolute and consistent in their purpose and behavior in making desegregation a success, the 4-H Club members can hardly be expected to cooperate.

CASE, HERMAN M., and CALLAM, HUGH H., "Attitudes Toward Desegregation: A Study of 37 Oklahoma Communities."

School administrators enrolled in the senior author's sociology course during the 1954 summer session at Oklahoma A & M College, were asked to survey their own communities' attitudes toward the Supreme Court decision and its implications. The students used, in the main, a standardized questionnaire and followed as closely as possible scientific sampling procedures.

The over-all picture indicated that only 8.1% of the total population polled in the 37 communities, represent a "hard core" of opposition to desegregation. This figure is based on the average of 8.2% who said they would *favor private schools;* the 8.6% who said they would give *no support to the needs of desegregated schools;* and the 7.6% who think whites would like *to see Negroes excluded from the United States* or permitted *to enter only as visitors.* Tending to oppose desegregation, but not as negative in their attitudes, are another 30% of the population polled. Along with the "hard core," they are represented by the 40.2% who indicated their views are very close or fairly close to those of "Deep South" leaders, the 16.4% who think whites would like to see *Negroes excluded from their communities;* and the 36.5% who would not accept *Negroes attending white churches.*

On the other hand, approximately 16% of the population polled were fully prepared to accept desegregation. An even 16% said they felt *both Negro teachers and children should be admitted* to white schools. Approximately the same number said they *positively would not go along with views* of "Deep South" leaders. An 11.2% block of the population said they think most whites in their communities would *accept Negroes as neighbors.*

An additional 45% generally indicate pro-Negro feelings by their willingness to *permit Negroes in their line of work;* to *permit Negro children if not Negro teachers, in white schools;* to *permit Negroes in white churches;* and by their claim of holding views *not too close or very different from those of "Deep South" leaders.*

In general, the rural Oklahomans showed a more negative attitude toward desegregation; the urbanites were consistently more pro-Negro.

The communities surveyed were predominantly from northeastern counties of Oklahoma although some representation was obtained from all regions of the state.

Surprisingly, comparisons revealed no specific region as either more negative or more positive, in the face of the hypothesis that the southern area known as "Little Dixie" was more pro-segregation.

A slight rank-order correlation was obtained supporting the hypothesis that communities with the greatest percentage of non-whites would show the fewest respondents willing to admit Negro teachers and children to white schools. No test of statistical significance could be made with this data, however.

In comparing these findings with those of the 24 communities studied by Williams and Ryan in *Schools in Transition: Community Experiences in Desegregation,* University of North Carolina Press (1950), it was predicted that nowhere in Oklahoma would desegregation, with firm leadership, fail.

COTHRAN, TILMAN C., "Negro Conceptions of White People," American Journal of Sociology Vol. 56, 1851, pp. 458-467.

This study was undertaken to test the validity of the hypothesis that middle class Negroes are more favorable in their conceptions of white people than either upper or lower class Negroes.

The 30 most frequent conceptions out of over 341 conceptions of white people secured from 341 Negroes by an open-ended interview technique, were used in the schedule. The schedule was filled out by 174 Negroes—57 lower, 57 middle, and 60 upper class Negroes.

Findings: 1) the selected Negro stereotypes of white people are widely known in Negro society; 2) there is a high degree of uniformity in the responses; 3) in most instances, Negro conceptions of whites are unfavorable; 4) the middle class Negroes are more favorable in their conceptions of white people than either the lower or the upper class Negroes; 5) the lower class was intensely more unfavorable than either the upper or the middle classes; 6) Negroes usually agree with the statement, "White people judge all Negroes by the worst type of Negroes." This implies that Negro conceptions of themselves drastically deviate from white conceptions of Negroes.

BANKS, W. S. M., II, "Rank Order of Sensitivity to Discrimination," American Sociological Review Vol. 15, 1950, pp. 529-534.

The study was undertaken to test Myrdal's thesis that whites in the U. S. insisted on the retention of discriminatory practices in the order of:

1) sex relations
2) courtesies
3) public services
4) political
5) legal
6) economic

According to Myrdal, the Negro's rank order of discrimination is parallel, but inverse to the white man's rank (i.e., the Negro resents economic discriminations most, and sex relations and intermarriage least).

In addition, the following related hypotheses were used: The ranking of the 6 general types of discrimination by individuals will vary with a) age; b) sex; c) occupation; d) education; and e) place of birth or conditioning as far as Negro-white relations are concerned.

Ninety-six items of discrimination were used to construct a scale of sensitivity. Respondents were asked to indicate how serious a case of discrimination each item represented. The possible responses were: very serious, moderately serious, not serious, and not a case of discrimination. Further substantiation was obtained by preliminary interviews; listening in on barber shop oratory; and the fact that recognized Negro leaders tend to suggest the same rank order, or a similar one.

A sample of 200, out of 40,000 Negroes in Columbus, Ohio, was selected, with special efforts being made to insure representativeness so far as spatial, age, sex, occupational and educational distributions were concerned.

Findings: 1) Generally, Negroes in Columbus, Ohio, resent all discriminations moderately or very much.

2) Myrdal's rank order of discriminations hypothesis is by and large an accurate portrayal of the sensitivity of Negroes in Columbus to discrimination.

Table 1. A Comparison of Myrdal's Rank Order of Discriminations and the Rank Order of a Sample of Columbus Negroes.

Types of Discriminaton	Myrdal's Rank Order	Sample Rank Order
Economic	1	3
Legal	2	1
Political	3	2
Public service and facilities	4	4
Courtesies and respect	5	6
Sex relations	6	5

Even so, the score differences were very small.

Table 2. Mean Scores by Types of Discrimination and Rank Order of Means of 200 Negroes in Columbus, Ohio.

Types of Discrimination	Mean Scores	Rank
Economic	2.74	3
Legal	2.82	1
Political	2.78	2
Public service and facilities	2.72	4
Courtesies and Respect	2.35	6
Sex relations	2.38	5

3) There are no significant differences between the sensitivity of male and female Negroes to discrimination.

4) Age *per se* is not a significant correlate of sensitivity to discrimination. Younger Negroes are apparently less sensitive to discrimination than is generally believed.

5) On the surface, occupation seems to be a significant correlate of sensitivity to discrimination. The higher the occupational level the lower the sensitivity to discrimination. Over two-thirds of the professionals were Northern born and reared. This seems to be the significant factor accounting for the differences.

6) Generally, the greater the number of years of schooling completed, the less the sensitivity to discrimination. The score variations were not statistically significant, but a pattern was reflected which seems to justify the above conclusion.

7) The one variable which seems to be most directly correlated with sensitivity to discrimination is the place of one's initial exposure to Negro-white relations. Persons whose basic conditioning was acquired in the South, or who have spent several years there, tend to be more sensitive to discrimination than those whose conditioning was acquired in the North.

Table 7. Pearsonian Correlation Coefficients Between the Six Types of Discrimination, N = 200.

	Economic	Legal	Political	Public services and facilities	Courtesies
Legal	+.78				
Political	+.82	+.89			
Public services and facilities	+.55	+.83	+.96		
Courtesies	+.63	+.39	+.50	+.61	
Sex relations	+.39	+.48	+.65	+.56	+.82

EDMUNDS, EDWIN R., "The Myrdalian Thesis: Rank Order of Discrimination," Phylon Vol. 15, pp. 297-303.

Myrdal in *An American Dilemma* presented the hypothesis that there is a rank order of discrimination. According to his thesis, whites would rank items in the following order: intermarriage, social relations, public services, politics, courts, and economic. Rank order for Negroes would be a perfectly inverse relationship.

This present study is designed to test the rank order of discrimination hypothesis among whites as well as Negroes.

A questionnaire—one for whites and one for Negroes—was distributed in 1954. Whites were asked to rank the categories of discrimination according to their willingness to have them removed. Negroes were asked to rank them in the order that they wanted them removed.

The sample consisted of 955 persons—443 Negroes and 522 whites—about equally divided between adults and college students. The respondents were from Texas and Oklahoma, being about equally distributed between the two. A high refusal-rate was encountered among the strongly prejudiced whites. In addition, 96 whites and 43 Negroes "refused to rank as requested," placing either all "sixes" or all "ones" beside the categories.

Findings: 1) The rankings obtained do not conform to the Myrdalian ranking save in the first two categories for whites and the last two categories for Negroes. The relationship was an inverse one, but not as close as predicted by Myrdal.

2) Only two ranks are represented by a majority of the respondents; four ranks only by pluralities—the last four ranks for whites and the first four for Negroes. "In short, there is strong agreement shown only in the ranking of intermarriage and social relations by both groups . . ."

3) The rank order obtained does not follow the Myrdalian rank order; the categories of jobs among whites, and public services among Negroes, receiving higher ratings.

4) Opinion was strongest in the areas involving direct personal relationships and fell sharply in the less personal areas.

5) White opinion was strongest in what they most wanted to retain, whereas Negro opinion was strongest in what they least wanted to obtain, the latter being the direct opposite of what might have been expected.

6) Although the rankings were approximately the same in both groups between adults and students, the students in both groups showed stronger preference in practically every category. Hence they were apparently less liberal or more concerned in these areas.

7) Jobs, even though the first preference of Negroes, did, by no means, command a majority of opinion.

8) There were no significant differences in ranking order between (a) those whites who felt that segregation as it now exists in the U. S. should be continued; and (b) the white group as a whole.

Summary: This data suggests that there is no strong preference in the ranking of discriminations either by those in whose favor they are imposed, or by those who suffer from them. One possible explanation of these results is the "diminishing interest by both groups as one moves beyond the direct personal relationships. . . ."

". . . the popular fallacy surrounding this area of intermarriage is exploded, for the two groups most generally concerned show the least desire to have the existing barriers removed, namely, female whites and male Negroes. The Myrdalian hypothesis gains strong support at this point."

"It seems reasonable to conclude that insofar as the sample used in this study is typical, the hypothesis presented by Gunnar Myrdal is either not an accurate picture of the Negro and white opinion in the southwest concerning discriminations; or the ten years or so that have elapsed since his formulation have wrought definite changes in both white and Negro opinion. In either case the rank order presented by Myrdal does not seem to apply to this contemporary situation."

GRAY, J. STANLEY and THOMPSON, ANTHONY H., "The Ethnic Prejudices of White and Negro College Students," Journal for Abnormal and Social Psychology Vol. 48, 1953, pp. 311-313.

This study was made to determine "social distance" ratings of white and Negro students to other ethnic groups.

Four hundred undergraduate students from the University of Georgia and 300 Negro undergraduate students from three state supported Negro colleges in Georgia were tested with a modified Bogardus social distance scale. The students were asked to rate 24 ethnic groups on an eight point scale ranging from "I would accept in my family by marriage," down to "should be excluded from the country." An informational form was also included.

Findings: 1) Negro students rate all groups other than their own lower than do white students.

2) Acquaintance with at least five individuals of an ethnic group raised the

social distance ratings of both whites and Negroes for that group. [N.B. High rating=friendly attitude.] This held true for all groups except Mexicans.

3) Seniors were more liberal than freshman; younger students were more liberal than older students; Negroes whose parents had college educations were more liberal than those whose parents had only high school educations.

4) Religion and income of parents did not affect the degree of liberality.

5) On check tests conducted with 100 high school students and 100 randomly selected adults, findings (1) and (2) above were re-affirmed.

HAYAKAWA, S. I., "The Semantics of Being Negro," etc.: A Review of General Semantics Vol. 10, 1953, pp. 163-175.

(An address given at the annual dinner at the Urban League of St. Louis, on February 12, 1953.)

General semantics is a systematic study of attitude formation, and how attitudes "help to create the kind of world we live in." The self fulfilling prophecy is a semantic principle which states that "your own beliefs about the outcome of any social situation of which you are a part are a factor in the outcome," e.g. a white says, "If Negroes move into our community, there is bound to be trouble."

If a Negro goes into mixed company with the prediction, "People are going to be unpleasant to me because of my race," they may very well be unpleasant to him. In this period of changing race relationships, many formerly sensible attitudes have suddenly ceased to be realistic. The number of daily contacts between the races is increasing constantly. "The Negro to a degree never possible before, can set the tone of social or business intercourse by the clues he gives in his speech and behavior, as to how he expects to be treated. If he acts obsequiously as if he expected to be stepped upon, he will find plenty of white people who will gladly respond with equal rudeness or cold silence. . . . But however he acts the power to determine the atmosphere of the meeting lies with him, although he may not know it." A Negro parent or biochemist going to a meeting expecting to be treated as a Negro will probably be treated as such; otherwise he will be treated just as any other parent or biochemist. It is important to stop thinking about race relations and to concentrate on the problem at hand.

Intellectual segregation, "the Jim Crow of the mind," is often lagging behind actual physical segregation. This is voluntary segregation by Negroes and a preoccupation with solely Negro problems. "The way to stop being haunted by the fact of being Negro, which is the essence of Jim Crow of the mind, is to develop a deeper passion about other topics." It is also important to maintain a "fluidity of concept" in terms of time which means being alert to altered conditions and opportunities. The Supreme Court of 1950 is not the Supreme Court of 1952 or 1954; and Mr. Jones (1940) is not Mr. Jones (1942) or Mr. Jones (1944).

KAHN, LESSING A., "The Organization of Attitudes Toward the Negro as a Function of Education," Psychological Monographs Vol. 65, 1951, pp. 1-39.

This study was made to test the hypothesis that the structure of verbalized attitudes toward the Negro is a function of the respondent's level of formal education.

The sample consisted of 700 whites from Philadelphia—350 with no more than an 8th grade education, and 350 with at least one year of college or the equivalent.

Fifty questions were used, 14 of which were "dummy" questions to prevent stereotyping. Questionnaires were administered to both groups and individuals.

"It has been established as a consequence of the various analyses of the data in the present investigation that the structure or organization of attitudes toward the Negro is remarkably similar for educated and uneducated respondents. Furthermore, it has been shown that the extent of apparent prejudice in the two experimental groups differs significantly, that is, educated respondents tend to display more favorable attitudes toward the Negro than do uneducated persons. The findings of the present investigation demand some hypothesis to point up the significance which attaches to attitude measurement when the educational achievement of the respondents is considered. One hypothesis that may be advanced contends that what was being measured was not prejudice *qua* prejudice, but rather, the ability of respondents with different levels of educational achievement to mask their prejudice. As the individual respondent becomes more and more sophisticated, educationally speaking, the validity of his expressed attitudes progressively decreases. . . ."

KING, CHARLES E., "The Process of Social Stratification Among an Urban Southern Minority," Social Forces Vol. 31, 1953, pp. 352-355.

How do the Negroes in a particular town stratify themselves? The study was conducted in a town of 70,000 (27% Negro) in North Carolina. Class ratings were constructed on the basis of the Warner method of reputational ratings by self and others.

Findings: The higher the education and related occupation, the higher is the individual's class position. The less the concentration of education in the membership of any group, the lower the social rank of the organization. Informal organizations of Negroes tend to cluster around class lines. Men are more inclined to cross class lines than women. Family is not generally a class-giving factor.

Antagonisms take the form of attitudes and are expressed in community activities. The middle class is more sensitive to these antagonisms than the upper class. The lower class feels inferior to and depreciated by the upper class, and responds more readily to middle class than upper class leadership.

The upper class has a sort of avoidance-relationship with the whites because they do not feel inferior to them and resent vigorously having to assume positions of inferiority to them.

KNEBEL, EARL H., and CASE, HERMAN M., "Attitudes Toward Desegregation: A Study of School Administrators and Teachers."

This study is concerned with the attitudes and opinions of 145 white and 28 Negro educators on the campus of Oklahoma A & M College during the 1954 summer session. The subjects who were purposively selected to cover a cross-section of educator fields, responded to a questionnaire regarding non-segregation in the public schools and regarding their attitudes and opinions of Negro-white racial problems. The fields represented were: college educators, public school administrators, teachers of vocational agriculture, secondary and elementary school teachers.

Attitude scores were computed for the different categories with a score of 100, operationally indicating the most liberal attitude possible, and a score of 0, indicating the most conservative or negative attitude toward Negroes and desegregation.

A number of questions were used to assess the attitudinal frame of reference of these educators. On the question, "In view of the recent Supreme Court decision regarding segregation, how do you feel this problem should be worked out?" The response categories ranged from *permit both Negro teachers and Negro children to enter white schools*, to *enact state legislation to place public schools in the hands of private corporations*. The average attitude score of all white educators was 59. The score of college teachers was 78, the most liberal of the white educators. Administrators scored the lowest (and consistently so on all questions used) with an average attitude score of 51. Administrators were closely followed by elementary school teachers with an average score of 54. Negro teachers scored 93.

On the question: "What would be your attitude toward teaching mixed classes of white and Negro students?" Administrators again showed the lowest average attitude score of 69. College teachers were again the most liberal of the white educators, closely followed by secondary school teachers.

Other questions were: "What would be your attitude toward working in a school with both white and Negro teachers?"; "What would be your attitude toward working with a teacher or superior administrator of the opposite race?"; a modified Bogardus social distance question; and "Compared with the average teacher in this state how would you rate your attitude toward minority groups?".

Consistently, the over-all attitude scores of white administrators were lowest. White teachers of vocational agriculture and white elementary school teachers show an intermediate position among the white educators. College teachers were the most liberal closely followed by white secondary school teachers. Negro teachers showed the highest attitude scores on all the questions.

The consistently lower scores of the white administrators may have a number of possible interpretations. It may be that this group is basically a more prejudiced group. However, the instability of tenure of administrators would likely be a big factor in influencing administrators to hold to the "status quo." As leaders in their communities, school administrators must assume greater responsibility when confronted with school problems such as desegregation and are under more direct community pressure. In addition, the administrators are generally older than the other educators; they have not had the advantages of more recent education. Conversely, college teachers, the most liberal white group, may feel detached from the community pressures and are more likely to be fortified by sound knowledge of the lack of fundamental difference between the races.

LINDZEY, GARDNER, "Differences Between the High and Low in Prejudice and Their Implications for a Theory of Prejudice," Journal of Personality Vol. 19, 1950, pp. 16-40.

This study was undertaken to determine if highly prejudiced persons reacted differently to frustration than persons with less prejudice.

Twenty-two Harvard undergraduates high in prejudice, and twenty-two who were low in prejudice, were selected for study. Eleven in each group were used as controls. At the outset of the study, five measures of aggressive tendency were applied to all the subjects. Two months later, the experimental subjects were subjected individually to a frustration-experience while under observation through a one-way mirror.

Findings: 1) High and low in prejudice do not differ significantly in the readiness with which they tend to displace the aggression after frustration.

2) The highs exceeded the lows, but only insignificantly, in outwardly directed aggressive tendencies.

3) The highs are more susceptible to frustration, either because of characteristic differences in their motivational structure, or because of a greater readiness to interpret non-gratification of their needs as threatening.

4) The highs show more overt disturbance, but also experience the same situation as more intensely frustrating. The greater intensity may account for the greater overt response.

5) The highs do not react less adequately to experimental frustration.

6) The highs score higher on an annoyance scale.

7) The highs more frequently identify their fathers rather than their mothers or the combination of both parents, as the most influential persons in their developments.

8) The highs more frequently said they went to church "occasionally" or "at all."

9) The highs show more conformity to conservative nationalistic statements.

NEHNEVAJSA JIRI, University of Colorado, "Tolerant-intolerant Attitudes on a University Campus"

(The following is an abstract of a paper read at the 1956 Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society held in Detroit in September. The abstract is the author's own.)

This progress report deals with the results of analysis of variance of 4,052 questionnaires administered in May 1955 to selected students at the University of Colorado. The whole schedule consisted of 110 items; this paper discusses the homogeneity of Adorno scale scores in terms of various socio-cultural traits.

The scores were found homogeneous with respect to the affiliation, or nonaffiliation of the students to Greek-letter organizations. The distribution of scores was unrelated to the region (Bureau of Census categories) from which the respondent came. It was unrelated to the size of respondents' resident community, as it was to the extent of education of the subjects' mother.

Other variables appeared significantly related to tolerant attitudes, as measured, at the .001 level. Female students were significantly more tolerant than males. Marital status was related—with married students less intolerant than others. Political preference of the subjects was associated with attitudes. Republican respondents were less tolerant than Democrats and independents.

Religious variables were inversely related to tolerant attitudes; religion was assessed by expressed preferences, by intensity of one's beliefs, and by frequency of church-attendance. Education was positively related to tolerant expressions, as was, perhaps spuriously, age. But there were significant differences depending on the student's major field, and the school which he attended. Philosophers, social scientists, and language and literature students yielding most, while pharmacy and business students least tolerant scores.

NEPRASH, JERRY A., "Minority Group Contacts and Social Distance," Phylon Vol. 14, 1953, pp. 207-212.

This study suggests an explanation for a prior finding that "white children who attend mixed schools do not differ significantly in amount of prejudice towards the Negro from those who attended all-white schools."

The subjects of this study were 61 white boys—50 from 9-12 years of age and eleven 12-15 years of age—who were members of six "Gra-Y Clubs" of a YMCA in an eastern city of 65,000. Each boy checked the type of relation into which he would be willing to accept Negroes. The relationships ranged from, acceptance as a close friend, to complete rejection. The manner in which the tests were administered was such that the author thought that the purpose of studying racial differences was concealed.

The boys were then divided into three groups, on the basis of their contact with the Negroes. It was found that the "friendly" and "intermediate" groups had much more personal contact with Negroes than the "unfriendly." No difference was evident when responses based on mere contact with Negroes in home rooms were tabulated. This indicates that physical proximity is not sufficient. It also indicates that close personal relationships are necessary if the barriers of segregation are to be broken. As a corollary, "the absence of personal contacts may be of basic importance in the development of prejudice since apparently antagonistic and unfriendly attitudes . . . flourish in the absence of such contacts." Thus, the very existence of segregation is a condition of its own perpetuation.

PEARLIN, LEONARD I., "Shifting Group Attachments and Attitudes Toward Negroes," Social Forces Vol. 33, 1954, pp. 47-50.

Problem: "In line with the well-established observation that an individual's attitudes are in large part determined by his group memberships and identifications, attention in this study is focused on the manner in which the relationships of college students to various groups are correlated with their attitudes toward Negroes."

Assumptions: a) That the majority of students find at college a climate of opinion more favorable to Negroes than the one to which they were exposed before.

b) It is very doubttul whether this simple exposure to more favorable sentiments will in itself result in a reduction of anti-Negro prejudice.

Hypotheses: a) "Prejudice is related to the nature of the relationships that college students have maintained with the groups of which they were members before coming to college. The least prejudiced students will be those who have experienced a weakening of the ties to pre-college membership groups, while the more prejudiced will be those who have retained firm affiliations with such groups."

b) "Prejudice is related to the nature of the relationships which students have established since coming to college. The least prejudiced students will be those who most strongly refer themselves to college groups, while the more prejudiced will be those who refer themselves less strongly to campus groups."

A multiple choice type of questionnaire was used containing, in part, questions concerning the desire of students to see Negroes admitted to the college (Woman's College of the University of North Carolina) and their willingness to participate with Negro students in several situations, the situations varying with the social distance involved.

The sample consisted of a randomly chosen group of 383 students (15% of the total student body of the college).

Findings:

Table 1. Percentage Distribution of Responses of 383 College Students to Questions Regarding Participation with Negro Students in Selected Situations.

Situation	Total	Yes	No	Don't Know
Mixed chapel services	100.0	52.2	44.1	3.7
Mixed classroom seating	100.0	51.7	46.2	2.1
Mixed eating facilities	100.0	43.3	54.3	2.4
Admission to college	100.0	30.3	56.1	13.6
Mixed dances	100.0	27.4	68.1	4.5
Mixed dormitory rooming	100.0	20.4	75.7	3.9
Double dating	100.0	14.9	80.7	4.4

On the basis of these responses, students were then classified into "acceptors" (those who answered "yes" to all questions concerning acceptance of Negroes); "intermediate" or those who mixed "yes" and "no" answers; and "rejectors," i.e., those who answered "no" to all questions concerning acceptance of Negroes.

It was discovered that the acceptors had somewhat more frequently clashed with their parents since coming to college; and that they felt they were drifting away from hometown friends since college more than the other two groups felt this.

The respondents then were redivided into two groups, one of which could be said to refer itself primarily to college groups as the ones with whom they would be most likely to discuss basic ideas, and the other who had some groups at home as their reference group. It was found that there were rather large differences in the percentage of acceptors (80.4) vs. the intermediate (70.2) and vs. the rejectors (54.5) in the group which referred itself to college associates for intimate discussion.

Conclusions:

". . . attitude change cannot be reckoned solely in terms of exposure to new ideas. Whether or not an individual will undergo a modification of his attitude depends in large part on the nature of his relationship to groups holding the opposing sentiments and opinions. Generally, where there is a shift in his attitudes, there will also be found a detachment from those groups from which he initially derived and found support for his attitudes. Correspondingly, the attitude shift will be in the direction of the norm of those groups with which he develops the firmest attachments and identifications."

PROTHRO, E. TERRY, "Ethnocentrism and Anti-Negro Attitudes in the Deep South," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology
Vol. 47, 1952, pp. 105-108.

What is the relationship, in the middle class adults of the Deep South, between attitudes toward the Negro and attitudes toward other minorities? Are anti-Negro Southerners also generally ethnocentric?

To answer these questions, a questionnaire was administered to 383 members of various Louisiana civic and fraternal organizations at regular meetings of the groups, located in 16 towns.

Findings:

The following relationships were discovered:

1) Of 270 out of 383 (almost 70%) who were unfavorable to Negroes, 158 or nearly 60%, were favorable in their attitude toward Jews.

2) Of 113 who were favorable to Negroes, 100 were favorable to Jews.

3) Of 246 who scored unfavorable attitudes to Negroes, 159, or approximately 60% were generally favorable to living in the same neighborhood with 15 other ethnic groups.

4) Somewhat smaller percentages were unfavorable to Negroes but favorable to intermarriage with other ethnic groups.

The author feels that these findings indicate that anti-Negro feeling in the South is frequently found among persons whose personality is not generally ethnocentric—on the assumption that anti-ethnic group attitudes are indicative of a type of personality structure. He suggests that personality dynamics are not adequate to account for the distribution of anti-Negro attitudes.

PROTHRO, E. TERRY and MILES, OTHA KING, "A Comparison of Ethnic Attitudes of College Students and Middle Class Adults from the Same State," Journal of Social Psychology Vol. 36, 1952, pp. 53-58.

This study was initiated in order to compare attitudes observed in a previous study of Louisiana college students with those of middle class adults from the same state.

The sample consisted of 380 white, middle class, Christian adults from the civic and fraternal organizations of 16 Louisiana municipalities. The tests were administered to the respondents during the regular meetings of the organizations with which they were affiliated.

Findings: 1) The adults were significantly less favorable toward both Negroes and Jews than the college students; 2) they were highly favorable toward the church, but not more so than the students; 3) there was a moderate positive correlation between attitude toward the Negro, as was the case in the student study; 4) there was virtually no relationship between church attitudes and attitudes toward the two ethnic groups, as, again, was the case for the students.

"Apparently the degree of correspondence between attitudes of adults and those of college students varies with the attitude under consideration. Even though the mean attitude scores of the two groups differ significantly, the interrelations that hold within each group may be similar."

PROTHRO, E. TERRY, and JENSEN, JOHN A., "Comparison of Some Ethnic and Religious Attitudes of Negro and White College Students in the Deep South," Social Forces Vol. 30, pp. 426-428.

Although extensive study has been made of attitudes toward the Negro in the South, the attitudes of the southern Negro himself have been much less carefully explored. A study of his attitudes is of obvious importance, however, in providing clues to the responses of a minority group to overt discrimination.

Previous investigations of the beliefs of southern Negroes have not dealt directly with the question of their attitudes toward other groups.

It is possible that the Negro in the Deep South does not hold the usual pattern of American attitudes. This study is an attempt to determine the attitude Negro college students of the Deep South hold toward white Americans and Jews, to compare these attitudes with those held toward Negroes and Jews by whites in nearby colleges, and to ascertain the relationship between these ethnic attitudes and attitude toward the church.

The sample studies consisted of 489 Negro and white students attending colleges in the Deep South. One hundred to 150 s[illegible] used from each of four schools: Tuskegee Institute, Alabama Polytech[illegible] Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College, and Florida State University

A questionnaire was administered to memb[illegible] regular classes in elementary psychology and education.

Findings:

The results do not support the thesis that the Negro's preference for various ethnic and national groups is similar to that of white Americans. It is moot whether the uniqueness of the results bespeaks a post-war change or a difference between the attitudes of Negro students from the upper and Deep South. Nevertheless, these results were obtained:

1) Attitudes of Negro students toward whites were no more favorable than the attitudes of white students toward Negroes.

2) Attitudes of Negro students toward Jews were generally favorable, as were those of southern white students towards Jews.

3) There was a slight, but statistically significant positive relationship between the Negro's attitudes toward whites (the majority group) and Jews (another minority group). Resentment toward whites is not coupled with favorable attitudes toward the Jew.

4) There was a slight, but statistically significant positive relationship between the Negro's attitude toward the church and his attitude toward whites. The Negro students, like the white ones, were generally quite favorable toward the church.

ROSNER, JOSEPH, "When White Children Are in the Minority," Journal of Educational Sociology **Vol. 28, 1954, pp. 69-72.**

The purpose of the study was to "investigate the attitudes toward self, color and racial role" of selected white boys in two institutions. In one institution (A), the white boys were in the minority; in the other (B), they were in the majority. "The research explored whether group behavior was in fact based on group status and the role played and whether *white* boys in a *minority* group (Institution A) behaved differently than *white* boys who were in a majority (Institution B), or if the total cultural background was so strong that they continued to act as if in the majority in all cases."

Both institutions accepted emotionally disturbed children with the same general problems. Comparative data used in describing was limited to Children's Court (the referral source) and included race, age (mean 12.0), I.Q. (mean 93.4), religion (Catholic and Protestant), and psychiatric diagnosis (primary behavior disorder and psychoneurosis). Ten children were selected in each institution for the study. The small number made it possible to study their backgrounds and present life adjustments intensively. The children presented a wide variety of home backgrounds coming from diverse sections of the city of New York and from diverse socio-economic levels. Psychotic children were excluded from the study.

The children were tested and interviewed at each institution by an investigator who saw each child in a private room. The children were told their cooperation was voluntary. They were given the Trager-Yarrow Social Episodes Test which consists of three pictures, each depicting a play situation familiar to children. Parents of the children were interviewed at home. Counselors, cottage parents and caseworkers were also interviewed to complete the study of each child.

Findings:

"The study indicated that the white children in both institutions were almost unanimously prejudiced against Negroes. However, the prejudice expressed verbally by the white children in both institutions did not usually express itself in the behavior of these same children." Both groups of white children accommodated themselves to their situations and accepted the total institutional atmosphere. In Institution A, where Negroes were in the majority, Negroes cursed whites but whites did not openly curse Negroes. At Institution B it was discovered that, while discrimination was forbidden, overt prejudice nevertheless was shown on the part of staff and children alike.

"The group that was the majority in both institutions appeared to dominate the setting in terms of values, judgments, and verbal expression. The basic hypothesis of the study was thus supported in that it appeared that when white children become the minority in a group situation, their attitudes and actions differed from white children who were members of a majority group in a comparable institutional setting."

SMITH, BENJAMIN F., "Wishes of High School Seniors and Social Status," The Journal of Educational Sociology Vol. 25, 1952, pp. 466-475.

Two hundred sixty-five Negro seniors from three high schools in North Carolina and from one in Virginia were asked what their three chief wishes were. Related answers were grouped together and analyzed according to the class status of the respondents.

The upper-middle class students placed a much greater emphasis on personal appearance than any of the other classes. The two lower classes tended to emphasize material possession and education. A larger percentage of upper-middle and lower-middle seniors aspire to professional jobs than does that of the lower two classes, the members of which are indefinite regarding vocations.

The author feels that the findings reveal a close association between the desires of Negro high school seniors and social class, and that "environment plays a great part in determining the nature and extent of adolescent's concerns. It is safe therefore, to conclude that the concerns of youth are acquired. They are largely social learnings."

WESTIE, FRANK R., "Negro-White Status Differentials and Social Distance," American Sociological Review Vol. 17, 1952, pp. 550-558.

This study deals with the following hypothesis: When the Negro's occupational status as well as the respondent's status is a variable in the testing situation, the status factor may be expected to become more meaningful to the respondent; status consciousness of the respondent can be expected to increase with the introduction of occupational status into the picture.

Social distance scales were administered to three separate samples, each of a relatively discrete socio-economic level of the Indianapolis population.

Results: 1) the higher the status of the Negro, the less the distance expressed toward him by whites in general; 2) the extent to which the Negro's occupation status affects distance accorded him varies with the status of the respondent; 3) the upper white sample expressed least social distance toward the Negro; while the lowest expressed the greatest social distance toward the Negro.

Conclusions: 1) the social distance between Negroes and whites, as expressed by whites, varies with differences in the occupational status of the Negro; 2) the higher the socio-economic status of the responding white, the greater the alteration of response with variations in the occupational status of the Negro; 3) social distance is least where both Negro and white have high socio-economic status; social distance is greatest where both Negro and white have low status; 4) the extent to which the foregoing generalizations apply varies with the interaction areas in which distance is expressed. Respondents are most rigid in their responses in the areas of interpersonal-physical distance and residential distance, and least rigid regarding position distance and interpersonal-social distance.

WESTIE, FRANK R. and HOWARD, DAVID, "Social Status Differentials and the Race Attitudes of Negroes," American Sociological Review
Vol. 19, 1954, pp. 584-591.

This is a second study of multi-phase investigation of the relationships between social status differentials and attitudes in the realm of inter-group relations. This study is concerned solely with Negro attitudes toward whites.

Interviewing took place in Indianapolis in 1952. The sample was defined to include all Negro males 21 years of age or over, who were heads of households and who lived in blocks without whites. All interviewers were Negro.

Conclusions: 1) an inverse relationship existed between the status of the Negro and the distance he would accord whites; 2) least distance is expressed toward whites of high status, while greatest distance is accorded to the lowest status whites; 3) upper status Negroes are less categorical in their responses to whites than are lower status Negroes; 4) the responses of Negroes to whites vary according to the area of interaction in which responses are elicited. The status of the white makes greatest difference to Negroes in the position-area (the degree of willingness to have the attitude-object occupy positions of power and prestige).

Negro Political Behavior

CARLETON, WILLIAM G., and PRICE, H. D., "America's Newest Voter: A Florida Case Study," Antioch Review Vol. 14, 1954, pp. 441-457.

What has been the pattern of Negro registration? What has been the role of Negro political organizations? What determines how Negroes vote? What are the observable Negro voting patterns? What are the political weaknesses of the Negro in the south?

In Florida, registration of Negroes has been rapid up to 1950. Since then, it has slowed down. Negro registration is still far below white. In 1954, 30% of the Negroes eligible to vote were registered, as compared with 70% of the whites. Negroes participate most heavily in politics in urban areas. Negro registration and voting are lowest in those counties where the planter system of ante-bellum South was most highly developed. The idea that Negroes are least active where the proportion of Negro to white population is greatest is not borne out by the facts.

A large number of local Negro political committees, alliances and leagues have developed. The most important function of such groups is the endorsing of candidates. In the absence of vital issues to the Negroes, the endorsement or lack of endorsement of the local Negro leagues becomes very important in determining how Negroes vote.

The percentage of registered Negroes who vote is 10-20% less than the percentage of registered whites who vote. Negroes vote more cohesively than whites—tend to block. Voting tends to be heaviest in key contests. Only a third vote a full ticket.

An overly militant campaign for Negro support provokes so much fear and opposition that it produces an anti-Negro reaction. The Negro and the Democratic Party are still uneasy allies. Negro leaders have been unable to deliver the Negro vote as a block except in the direction it was already inclined. The existence of the one party system in the South prevents the Negroes from exercising a balance of power role.

There has been widespread acceptance of the Negro vote by the southern whites, who regard it more and more as an inevitable fact. It is particularly on the local level that Negro participation in politics becomes most meaningful. Negroes see no virtue in voting *per-se;* if contests are without meaning to them, they tend to ignore them. In the absence of issues vital to the Negro, the endorsement or lack of endorsement of local Negro leagues becomes important in determining how Negroes will vote.

Southern conservatives still support the one party system. This will mean that the two-party system will come slowly in the South, since the conservatives have traditionally formed the ground-root support for the Republican Party. The impact of the Negro vote is already great enough to cause a certain ambivalence on the part of candidates.

The current political revolution is not likely to suffer a counter-revolution because it has come about slowly, gradually and peacefully. "The political activities of Negroes to date reveal unmistakably that they will participate in southern and northern politics with traditional American aims and values in mind, and within the framework of traditional American party and political institutions."

"Where Does Negro Voter Strength Lie"? Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report Vol. 14, 1956, pp. 491-496.

Political repercussions following the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public schools has led to speculation that Negroes who generally have been Democrats since the New Deal may be switching to the Republican party. In an attempt to assess this speculation, the *Congressional Quarterly* analyzed population and election data with the following in mind: where, outside the South, do Negroes constitute a significant portion of the population? where do Negroes hold the balance of power, and in which of these areas do politicians look for political shifts?

Using 1950 census data, *Congressional Quarterly* established the percentage of Negroes in the nation's 435 Congressional districts. Of 315 districts outside the South only 35 had populations 10% or over Negro and of the 35, 29 elected Democrats in 1954. In only 14 districts outside the South did Negroes constitute 20% or more of the population. Only one (rural Eastern Maryland) elected a Republican. The others elected Democrats. These are in Chicago (2), Baltimore (2), Detroit (2), St. Louis, Newark, New York (2), Cleveland, and Philadelphia (2). The three Negroes to sit in the 84th Congress came from these districts. President Eisenhower averaged 33.5% of the 1952 vote in these 13 districts. Two gave him a majority—Maryland's 4th (53.7%) and New Jersey's 11th (52.2%) The smallest vote for Eisenhower was 17% in Representative Adam C. Powell's Harlem district.

In the 10-20% Negro group, were 21 districts outside the South. In 1954, 16 went Democratic, 5 Republican. Three of the 16 Democratic districts are marginal, i.e., were won by less than 55% in 1954. Two of the 5 GOP districts were marginal.

The 1950 Negro population constituted more than 5% of the total population in 72 of 315 non-southern districts. In 1954, 49 elected Democrats (6 by less than 55%), and 23 elected Republicans (10 by less than 55%).

Since 1950, Negro migration to northern cities has continued. The percentages given are, therefore, low.

Negroes hold a theoretical balance of power in those districts where the Negro percentage of the population is larger than the winning candidate's margin. In 1954, outside of the South, there were 61 such districts: 32 elected Democrats, 29 Republicans. Most vulnerable of the 32 Democratic seats are 14 classed as marginal.

Interviews with Democratic and Republican professional students of the subject produced substantial agreement on these points:

(1) A majority of Negroes backed Democrats in 1954, often providing the margin of victory.

(2) It now appears that in 1956 Republicans will gain Negro votes, but it is too early to predict the extent of the shift.

The case for a switch was made by Roy Wilkins of the NAACP. "Up here we can have something to say about the party that made Eastland chairman of the committee that can choke us whether we live in Mississippi, Illinois, or Montana." Aside from the civil rights issue, some Negro leaders feel that the Republican party today offers Negroes greater opportunity for participation and advancement.

FARRIS, CHARLES D., "Re-Enfranchisement of Negroes in Florida," Journal of Negro History Vol. 39, 1954, pp. 259-283.

By about 1900, the concentrated actions of southern whites had substantially eliminated most Negroes from public political life in the states of the old Confederacy. Both "informal" (intimidation, violence, and fraud) and formal (legal) methods were used, but it was the legal methods of disenfranchisement that set the pattern which prevailed until 1946. In Florida, these methods took four principal forms:

1) The poll tax.
2) The temporary adoption of a multiple ballot box requirement followed by the compulsory use of the Australian ballot.
3) The radical subversion of traditional practices of local self-government in order to insure white control in "black" counties and cities.
4) The adoption of a white primary for partisans of the Democratic Party.

What, then, were some of the factors which brought the defeat of the white primary bill? (Matthews Bill, 1946) These would include (in addition to the Senators' attitudes toward Negroes) the influence on the voting of the individual senators of their feelings on one or more arguments of the anti-white-primary people as follows:

1) The private primary led to fraud and clique control.
2) The white primary violated some of the moral imperatives of Christianity and the democratic credo.
3) The white primary was unnecessary. (Based on the assumption of at least one of three conditions:)
   a) widespread political apathy among unregistered Negroes;
   b) the absence of vigorous Negro leaders to stimulate registration; and
   c) the availability of intimidation as a deterrent to registration.

MOON, HENRY LEE, "The Southern Scene," Phylon Vol. 16, 1955, pp. 351-358.

Restrictions on voting with the avowed purpose of Negro disenfranchisement have in the past included "a wide range of befuddling registration requirements; absurd literacy and interpretation tests; unattainable character references; the infamous 'Grandfather clause'; the poll tax; and finally the 'white primary'."

The modern southern Negro vote stems primarily from the 1944 Supreme Court ruling which outlawed the "white primary." Following the 1944 decision, the poll tax as a requirement for voting was dropped in Georgia, South Carolina and Tennessee. Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and Texas continue to require this tax. In 1940, the southern Negro vote was estimated at less than 250,000. By 1946 it had swelled to an estimated 750,000, and to an estimated 1,250,000 by 1952. These figures are estimates based on field reports and newspaper accounts.

On the basis of available data, the NAACP compiled the following estimates of the number of Negroes registered to vote in thirteen states in 1952:

State	Number Registered
Alabama	30,000
Arkansas	60,000
Florida	120,900
Georgia	146,200
Louisiana	120,000
Mississippi	23,000
North Carolina	100,000
Oklahoma	55,000
South Carolina	110,000
Tennessee	135,000
Texas	205,000
Virginia	70,000
West Virginia	35,000
Total	1,200,100

In these thirteen states, the Negro population is about five million. Registered and activated, this large body of citizens could have a profound impact on the region's political orientation. The major reactionary forces of the region seek to isolate this new vote, crippling its effectiveness as an instrument of liberalism. Race baiting has been used by the white supremacist for the purpose of making Negro support a liability rather than an asset to liberal candidates. The Negro, the original southern Republican, is now, in the main, a Democrat in the South as elsewhere.

The realization of the permanency of the Negro vote has permeated the southern consciousness at an uneven pace. In some areas, the 1944 ruling was accepted; in others like Mississippi, resistance was encountered. Various legal devices to curb the Negro vote have been tried. "In certain sections of the region, particularly in the rural areas, there was a revival of the old tactics of trickery, intimidation, violence and even murder, as in Mississippi, Florida, Georgia and Lousiana." Unlike other parts of the country, the southern states generally enacted election statutes designed to keep registration low, with the declared purpose of keeping the Negro out of politics. It also resulted, however, in low registration among whites, and facilitated control and manipulation of the vote by local and state political cliques. Despite the various devices used, the over-all upward trend in Negro voting continued. Only in Mississippi has there been a serious cutback in Negro voting. In many areas of the South, Negroes have been elected to boards of education and other governing bodies.

SMYTHE, HUGH H., "Negro Masses and Leaders: An Analysis of Current Trends," Sociology and Social Research Vol. 35, 1950, pp. 31-37.

One of the greatest problems of our largest minority, the Negro, is that of the relation of its so-called leaders with the masses. The American Negro "has never produced a leader with a truly race-wide following." Even such individuals as Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. DuBois, and Booker T. Washington, whose leadership was recognized by the top Negro strata, "made some attempt to reach downward to the masses, but its main strength was not derived from the underprivileged and ignorant millions at the bottom."

The First World War and the depression of the 1930's were circumstances releasing hitherto dormant forces among Negroes. Their participation in the military and civilian activities of the war made them "more alert than ever to the implications of their legally free but still subservient status." The Garvey movement after the war illustrated the greater voice Negroes were giving to their complaints; with the depression they were becoming fertile soil for organization. Inside the general economy of the 30's the Negro was squeezed; the black proletariat was "demonstrating general dissatisfaction with its lot and heralding the start of an intensive struggle for economic and social justice." This struggle, emanating from the bottom and pushing upward, created problems for leaders. Although many leaders tried during these conditions of unrest to organize the Negro masses, "not one ever achieved anything like overall superiority."

With the advent of World War II, the Negro was drawn into "the accelerated activity of a nation involved in total war." The Negro was beginning to see in the "war for democracy" an opportunity to emphasize his position. "Thus, during the war, Negro leaders were quick to proclaim full cooperation by Negro citizens in the interest of the general welfare; but they did not fail to indicate that the home-front fight was as serious to them as the shooting war abroad." By the end of the war, there was a "new spirit that had developed in the Negro masses. The conscience of the masses was sharpened and the drive upward stimulated by their participation in industrial activity on a previously unknown scale, the army life which afforded provincially minded soldiers with new vistas of life, plus unpleasant experiences Negroes had undergone during service in the armed forces both at home and abroad." Cries from the bottom found the leaders unprepared.

Today the Negro masses are no longer as divided. In the 30's two schools of thought arose among Negroes. The first believed in caution and security at this time of white liberalism. The second had lost faith in programs and insisted upon "the abolishment of all methods based upon gradualism." "Currently among the Negro masses there is only one school of thought: to build up a philosophy of union and strength in numbers, to struggle, to anticipate trouble, but not to waver in the concerted effort to attain full citizenship." ". . . an expanded and uncontrolled Negro mass outside the South has come forth with demands for rights here and now and the southern Negro is no longer silent."

The Negro leaders of today have failed to realize that although "the philosophy of gradualism has monopolized the field for a long time, the day of reckoning with the other philosophy is at hand." Present leadership lacks the perception "to understand that the Negro masses, North and South, have given increasing evidence of deep unrest and are disposed to do something in an organized way to remodel the social order."

"The [Negro] masses know which way they want to go, and this broad base is beginning to give impetus to the top. This wide foundation is shaping a consistent whole; when the solidifying process is complete, it may be that out of anonymity will eventually emerge that leadership, single or multiple, that the masses need to guide them toward full integration in the national culture."

RECORD, WILSON, "Extremist Movements Among American Negroes," Phylon Vol. 17, No. 1, March 1956, pp. 17-23.

Extremist movements are a sub-species of social movements, but deviate in method or goal from "normal" social movements. Negro extremist movements are distinguished by the fact that they seek to withdraw the colored group from society as a whole, or change society, rather than integrate Negroes in society as it exists. The 1920's Garvey movement envisaged a back-to-Africa migration of American Negroes; the 49th State movement wanted to channel Negroes into a distinct territorial unit within the United States; Father Divine's movement "smacks of racial separatism along theocratic lines."

Some characteristics of extremist movements:

(1) Their rejection of the possibility of attaining their goals within the general framework of American values and institutions.

(2) These movements have realized their greatest growth in periods of distress and crisis in Negro life. They were basically urban movements.

(3) Each of these movements were essentially authoritarian. Power and control were concentrated at the top, not only in the movement, but in the version of the good society which it envisaged.

Extremist movements among Negroes were essentially urban phenomena. They gathered migrants, the movement providing a stabilizing force in contrast to the disorganization of migration. It may be that these movements depend for survival upon a continuous stream of unsophisticated, rural migrants.

Where mobility up the ladder of social status is pronounced in the Negro group, membership in extremist movements would probably be unstable. The movement functioned in a sense as early station for Negroes on the way to middle class respectability.

The role of charisma in these movements should be explored. Transference of symbols was aptly used by these movements (i.e. Garvey's capacity to re-interpret the old time religion and its symbols for Negroes in a political sense and context).

Theoretical Issues in the Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination

BLACK, PERCY, and ATKINS, RUTH DAVIDSON, "Conformity versus Prejudice as Exemplified in Negro-White Relations in the South; Some Methodological Considerations," Journal of Psychology
Vol. 30, 1950, pp. 109-121.

The purpose of this paper is to suggest a frame of reference for the study of racial prejudice, and to show that the description and analysis of prejudice were understood differently, namely, in terms of deviation from the accepted patterns of behavior in the general socio-culture of the region or community where it is found.

Negro prejudice should be taken to mean more than just anti-Negro reactions which are part of the accepted mores of the socio-culture of the South. Prejudice might be better understood in terms of the overt behavior and/or attitudinal deviations from the accepted norms of the society.

"The southerner may not be using the Negro as a scapegoat for projecting personal frustration; he may not have had unfortunate or traumatic experiences with Negroes; he may not be misinformed or uninformed about the characteristics of the Negro; he may not be suffering from some personal insecurity; he may not have a misshapen philosophy of life. These and other factors, have been hypothesized at various times and places as the cause of anti-Negro reactions. They seem to constitute one class of hypotheses—those making some personality factor the cause of anti-Negro reactions. . . . What is overlooked is that widespread anti-Negro reactions are not necessarily individual personality problems but rather may be institutionalized and culturally accepted social patterns."

"Another class of hypotheses about the cause of anti-Negro reactions makes some widespread, external condition of disorganization in our economic, political, religious, or social structure, the cause. These hypotheses run something like this: 'Increase the chances for making a living and anti-Negro reactions will diminish.' 'Make social position of the whites more secure by removing the threat of displacement by Negroes, and anti-Negro reactions will take a turn for the better.' 'Strengthen the weak or disorganized influence of the church, and anti-Negro relations will disappear.' 'Remove the kinks in the slow and disorganizing transitional process from a one-crop agricultural economy to a more balanced economy of diversified agriculture and industry, and anti-Negro reactions will wane and vanish.' . . . While both positions are undoubtedly capable of bearing out *many* facts, it seems unlikely, however, that they are adequate to fit *all* the facts. An alternative position may be stated thus: The South as a sub-culture of the U.S. is not disorganized, nor do all or most of its members have pathological personalities. . . . It is only when viewed according to 'outside' standards or moral standards that the southerner is 'abnormal.' It is only when he comes in contact with and internalizes 'outside' standards that he is 'out of step' with his home society and it is only then that he can be truly be spoken of as in a 'dilemma.' "

The following tentative definition of prejudice is proposed: "A prejudice is a generalized anti-attitude, and/or an anti-action toward any distinct category or group of people, when either the attitude or the action or both are judged by the community in which they are found to be less favorable to the given people than the normally accepted standard of that community."

It is of course recognized that regardless of context, motivation or any other causal factors behind the anti-Negro reactions, the effect on the Negro is the same. This is not an attempt to justify anti-Negro reactions in the South. It seems, however, that true prejudice, as opposed to conformity to a social structure which calls for anti-Negro reactions, must be separated and seen clearly if ameliorative action is to be planned intelligently and constructively.

LOHMAN, JOSEPH D. and REITZES, DIETRICH C., "Note on Race Relations in Mass Society," American Journal of Sociology

Vol. LVIII, 1952, pp. 241-246.

It is the theme of this paper that "a view of race relations which centers upon . . . individual attitudes is severely limited. While there are some situations in which the behavior of persons toward others can be explained individual *qua* individual, in terms of *specific* attitudes, in the major and significant areas of social life—namely, jobs, business, and the community—this conception is not adequate. Thus most situations of racial contact are defined by the collectively defined interests of the individuals concerned and do not merely manifest their private feelings toward other races, for example, Negroes."

The authors argue that these interests bring people together into collectivities which "structure and define the situations for the individual and offer him ready and available definitions of behavior. . . . Hence a distinctly personal attitude toward minority groups may be of little consequence in explaining an individual's behavior."

These group memberships provide structured roles for the individuals to play, relative to the collective interest, so that as an employer, an individual may simply refuse to give a Negro a job; but as a property owner, he may join in violent action with others against the Negro; while as a union member he may be disciplined by his union's definition of the situation into behaving fairly and decently with regard to Negroes.

It is arguable whether the sets which are often characterized as attitudes may not be conceived as "myths" whose lack of constant relation to action may be explained in terms of the fact that myths serve to rationalize actions, rather than serve as the basis of them. Among the most deeply ingrained myths are the following:

1. that acts of racial discrimination are caused by the belief that other races are inferior.
2. that absolute equality can be achieved under a system of segregation.
3. that it is impossible to accomplish any change in the South.
4. that we cannot legislate beliefs or morals.
5. that there is a rank order of rational change.
6. that when race relations change, violence is inevitable.
7. that in times of crisis, we must make progress slowly.

The authors then counterpose certain actual situations of change to these myths. They indicate how in Washington, D.C., the dynamics of segregation could not be understood clearly except in the perspective of the organizational power structure of Washington. Similarly, experiences from Negro-white relations in industrial work situations in Chicago, and in an incident arising out of desegregation of a swimming pool in Washington, are brought to bear upon the thesis of the importance of group and organizational operations.

The Chicago case involved three situations about which the following summary comments are made:

"In all three situations it was discovered that the individual's generalized feelings and attitudes toward Negroes were inadequate to explain actual behavior. Such generalized feelings were systematically repressed and subordinated in the face of more specific interests. Thus, in the work situation, the specific interest of wages, working conditions, and job security were identified with the union; hence the union's position on racial questions was in control. On the other hand, in the neighborhood, such interests as personal and social deference as well as protection of property values, were identified with the objectives of the local improvement association. Consequently, the civic association's position of completely rejecting the Negroes as potential neighbors were determinative.

"It is of particular interest to note that there was no statistical correlation between acceptance or rejection of the Negroes on the job and acceptance or rejection of Negroes in the neighborhood.

An analysis is then presented of the process whereby the role of the police in dealing with racial violence in Chicago was altered. A program of training which stressed to the police their role and responsibility in the maintenance of law and order, without reference to their personal feelings, helped produce a very different set of behavior patterns on the part of the police.

"In modern mass society the group continues as the essential reality in human behavior, but the relevant and controlling collectivities are, increasingly, deliberately organized interest groups."

LONG, HERMAN H., "Race Prejudice and Social Change," American Journal of Sociology Vol. 57, 1952, pp. 15-19.

In its purely descriptive uses there is little doubt that the term "race prejudice" has been a valuable linguistic tool for expressing compactly a body of social conflicts and pathologies. However, in its explanatory applications, serious questions are raised for the social scientist, for there is implicit in this usage a causal determination of race and intergroup relations. Race prejudice becomes the central focus of attack, and it prescribes the means of effecting social change, namely, reducing and possibly eliminating prejudice. It is further assumed that there is a close predictive relationship between prejudice and individual and group behavior in response to current issues and possible modifications in social practice.

The basic question raised concerns the adequacy of this approach for ameliorative social change in group relationships and practices.

The treatment of prejudice as a complex rather than a simple attitude formation represents a growing consensus in the field.

The mass therapy of individuals to produce a kind of consensus of "unprejudiceness" suggests not only a faulty definition of the problem, but also an impossible proposal.

The shift of emphasis from individual to group and institutional determinants in social change is important for more than education. Insofar as deliberate efforts of reform are concerned, it makes significant the entire area of legislation, law and court action, policy and practice modification, and organizational movements. The crucial factor thus becomes the development and operation of strategies of reform, aimed at institutional, policy, and administrative objectives and geared to the pace of more general social change.

MARCSON, SIMON, "Research on Informational, Educational, and Propaganda Effects on Attitude Change," Phylon Vol. 17, 1956, pp. 119-28.

The research materials in this field contain the underlying assumption that the individual can be pushed in some particular direction through emphasis upon the content of a communication or its delivery. "The basic fallacy of most of the attitude change studies is the assumption that the restructuring of perception can take place without group situations being created in which ways of perceiving and categorizing can be altered." Other difficulties of the literature include the fact that too much of it relies on college students; there is often a lack of adequate measurement and control of length, number of themes, factors of conformity, and length of period after event of test; and too much attention is given to superficial variables. Motivation and cognition have not received adequate attention.

"On the basis of the present state of research knowledge the following propositions may be formulated:

1. ". . . a given type of information directed towards a given attitude under given conditions will have some effect. It remains necessary to spell out the type of information, the type of attitude, the conditions, and the extent and duration of the effect.

2. ". . . climate of opinion functions in two ways: (1) for conformance verbally and behaviorally to the groups to which they belong or want to belong; and (2) upon those who internalize this climate of opinion and begin to believe in it. The problem of the further conditions and the types of individuals involved remains.

3. "The effect of fear-arousing communications tends to be less successful than minimal fear-arousing communications, if there are competing communications dealing with the same issue.

4. ". . . prestige symbols [are] a determinant in mass persuasion. However, the emerging proposition needs spelling out in terms of which prestige symbols evoke what responses with respect to what decisions.

5. ". . . propaganda will be ineffective if the perceptive systems of the subjects involved are rigidly structured in opposition to it. The restructuring of perception takes place within a group situation.

6. ". . . acceptance of propaganda materials is limited if and when the source is identified as untrustworthy, or suspicions are aroused about it."

QUINN, OLIVE WESTBROOKE, "The Transmission of Racial Attitudes Among White Southerners," Social Forces Vol. 33, 1954, pp. 41-47.

"We are not concerned in this paper with the content of racial attitudes . . . nor with the appraisal of these attitudes; rather we are interested in discovering, as far as many be, the mechanisms of transmission of racial attitudes among white southerners."

Racial learning is but one aspect of social learning. In learning his social role, the child finds part of the answer to the question of his identity.

The group studied here was comprised of young people of high school or college age from the Deep South who were living or going to school in Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee. An effort was made to sample both town and city and the class stratifications of each; but the sample cannot be said to be proportional with respect to class, being rather heavily weighted toward the upper end of the scale.

Racial attitudes seem to be acquired as a part of the individual's attitude toward himself, as one of the areas of definition of his relationships with other people.

Where racial attitudes are concerned, direct instruction seems to play a relatively unimportant part. Instruction was usually given only after a child has erred in his racial behavior.

However, indirect verbal indications seem to be an important method of instruction. The child is allowed to overhear adult conversation which tends to perpetuate stereotypes of Negro immorality, incompetence, shortcomings, etc. Particularly striking was the absence of any reference to similar white behavior. Another type of indirect indication is seen in the instructions to children that they are not to make disparaging remarks about Negroes; rather they must not let the Negro know that he is considered inferior.

"For the most part, the South does not teach attitudes to its white children. Such teaching is not necessary; in establishing practices, by precept, by example, and by law, which separate the races and make distinctions between interracial behavior, the South has established a way of life which can have but one meaning to those who diligently practice it. And to escape such practice, until very recent times, has been extremely difficult, for racial etiquette has been woven into the entire institutional fabric of southern culture."

The racial behavior of earlier generations grew out of a social order that no longer exists. Opportunities for parents to teach racial behavior are fewer than they used to be, and the lessons cannot be so thoroughly learned. Since the master-servant relationship and all practices appropriate to it are so little in evidence, the old verbalizations and stereotypes are losing some of their authority.

"Economic changes in the South are bringing increased social distance of a horizontal type; it may well be that when this distance is great enough the vertical distance will be negligible."

ROSE, ARNOLD M., "Intergroup Relations *vs.* Prejudice: Pertinent Theory for the Study of Social Change," Social Problems

Vol. 4, No. 2, October, 1956, pp. 173-6.

The author is attacking the assumption that prejudice underlies discrimination, in the sense of the former being a cause of the latter. He believes that patterns of intergroup relations (including discrimination and segregation) are quite distinct from attitudes of prejudice in that each have separate and distinct histories, causes and processes of change.

He states that "A whole gamut of studies have established that prejudice is an individual reaction to certain childhood experiences, especially frustrations and restrictions, that are usually unrelated to people of other races." These experiences contribute to the formation of the personality type called an "authoritarian personality." The "authoritarian personality" hates not only Negroes, Jews, Orientals, and so on, but he tends to hate everybody. Rose goes on to state that there is no indication "that the 'authoritarian personality' . . . is any more prevalent in the South than in the North. Yet there is a world of difference in intergroup relations as far as Negroes and whites are each concerned."

He concluded that "prejudice has little to do with intergroup relations. They have to fit into each other at a given period of history, because some of the same people carry them both. But the laws of change—of origin, development, and decay—which govern one are independent of those governing the other."

SCHLESINGER, LAWRENCE, "The Influence of Social Communication on Ethnic Opinions," (Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Psychological Association, September, 1956.)

The following hypotheses were the objects of investigation:

1) The presure to change opinion resulting from receiving a communication will be greater than the resistance to change and/or the pressure to change the opinion of the communicator.

2) The direction of opinion resulting from receiving a communication will be toward the position advocated by the communicator.

3) The change in opinion resulting from receiving a communication will include a shift in level of effective attitude toward the general object of discussion.

4) The amount of change in opinion on a given item will increase as the number of persons in the group communicating a uniform position to the recipient increases.

5) The amount of change in opinion will be greater for high than for low prejudiced persons.

To test these hypotheses, 84 male undergraduates of Boston University were studied. All had been previously measured with regard to their degree of anti-Semitism. Through an experimental procedure, each subject came to know the position of each other person in the group of five with whom he was being tested. Each subject was then asked to express his own opinion. Changes in opinion were measured by the disparity between the amount of anti-semitism previously expressed before the experimental treatment and that expressed after presumably being informed of the attitudes of the co-members of his group.

Findings: "The predictions stemming from the assumption that social communication gives rise to conformity tendencies in the recipient of communications, when social communication is the medium for conveying information about the group standard, were essentially substantiated.

"The prediction of differential opinion change associated with level of prejudice was not confirmed. The results suggest that the highs do differ from the lows in conformity tendencies. Under the conditions of this experiment, where the group standard had minimal power or relevance for the high prejudiced, conformity was minimal, taking the form of minimizing the discrepancy between their own opinions and that of the group."

The Relative Status of the American Negro in the Economic Structure

BEDELL, MARY S., "Employment and Income of Negro Workers—1940-52," Monthly Labor Review Vol. 76, 1953, pp. 596-601.

Negro workers in 1952, although still not as well off as white workers in terms of employment and income, were better off than in 1940. The improvement was mainly due to the shifting of Negroes to non-agricultural industries. It reflects the effect of both economic and social forces.

Many authorities believe that the high level of economic activity from 1940-52 was more directly responsible for improvements in the Negroes' position. Support for this is seen in the fact that employment increased twice as much for Negroes as for whites from 1950-51, when total employment expanded by one million.

Some observers attribute Negro gains partly to the effects of such other forces as growing governmental concern over racial discrimination. Although relatively fewer Negroes than whites who wanted to work could find jobs in 1952, more, percentwise, were actually in the labor force. Unemployment rates are consistently higher for Negroes than for whites. In 1952, 4.6% of the Negroes and 2.4% of the whites in the labor force were unemployed. The most significant difference is within the 25-34 age group—the most sought after workers.

The most striking shift was that away from agriculture among Negroes. The geographical distribution of Negro employment also changed. In 1940, 90% of Negro agricultural workers were in the South. During the 1940's many moved to urban areas in the North and West as well as in the South, and consequently, the proportion of all Negroes working in the South fell from three-fourths to two-thirds and the Negro population became predominantly urban for the first time.

In 1950, agriculture still represented one-fifth of Negro workers and the service industries about one-third. Negroes, from 1940-52, made gains in manufacturing, construction, and trade. The proportion employed in domestic and personal services segment of the service industries declined. The number of Negroes classed as semi-skilled "operatives" increased.

An important aspect of the Negro's employment pattern was the heavy concentration in occupations characterized by lower job stability and casual or part-time work which interrupts job tenure. The median number of years-tenure on jobs for whites was 3.5 compared to 2.4 for Negroes. Lower levels of education and vocational training among Negroes than whites were often cited as underlying factors in the occupational pattern.

The cumulative effect of job differences between Negroes and whites was shown in the sharp contrast of average income. In 1950, Negroes' income averaged little better than half of whites', although their position was relatively better than pre-war. The median income of Negro wage earners and salaried workers in 1950 was $1,295 —48% less than for comparable white workers. The median annual income for Negro families was $1,869, 54% of the $3,445 average of white families.

NOLAND, E. WILLIAM, "Industry Comes of Age in the South," Social Forces Vol. 32, 1953, pp. 28-35.

The author tests the hypothesis that industrial development in the South is similar to industrial development elsewhere. Economic indices, employment and labor relations data, and migration of industry statistics are compared.

Findings: 1) Since 1939 the South has been consistently either first or second among regions in gains in public construction, per capita outlays for privately owned public utilities, private non-residential construction, and in national public construction; 2) the wage differential is disappearing, labor productivity is increasing, the gap between the nation and the South on value added by manufacture per worker is being closed; 3) changes in the South's economy have been effected more by the in-migration of branch plants of non-southern concerns than from the springing up of locally-owned and locally-managed "native" companies; 4) attitudes of southern employers toward labor unionism are becoming substantially similar to those of employers elsewhere; 5) there is substantial evidence that the South is moving rapidly in the direction of being like other regions in attitudes toward national legislation, federally provided services, and their implications; 6) there seems to be more hesitancy about taking a positive stand on the hiring of Negroes on the part of non-southern employers moving into the South than on the part of native employers.

ANDERSON, C. ARNOLD, and BOWMAN, MARY JEAN, "The Vanishing Servant and the Contemporary Status System of the American South," The American Journal of Sociology Vol. 59, 1953, pp. 215-230.

A generation ago the South could be characterized as that unique area in the nation where the typical white family might aspire to have a servant. This study deals with 1) the volume of servant use in different sections of the country; 2) the influence of family income upon the hiring of servants.

The nation over, the number of servants has dropped from 2.1 to 1.4 million, a 33% decline in the last decade, 28% in the South and 36% elsewhere. The segregation of the servant role to Negroes has been strengthened, however, by the lowering of the frequencies of servants, for white women have dropped out of the occupation faster than Negroes. Yet the Negro is not worse off than before. However segregated the servant occupation may be, alternative and improved opportunities for Negro women (and their husbands) are affecting the nature of the servant role. Vocational opportunities for Negro women approach those of white women much more closely at the top than at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy. Discrimination in the clerical vocations greatly exceeds that in the professions.

PERLO, VICTOR, "Trends in the Economic Status of the Negro People," Science and Society Vol. XVI, 1952, pp. 115-150.

It is widely believed that the unequal status of the Negro, as evidenced by segregation and discrimination, is being solved with the good will of all concerned.

It is also believed that the Negro will continue to make economic gains such as those won during the second World War. This study is aimed at testing the validity of these beliefs on the basis of the data compiled from the 1950 census. The changes in the status of the Negro were analyzed in relation to changes in the status of the population as a whole.

Conclusions:

1) during the war, the Negroes did make great gains in economic and social status, but, since then, have suffered losses in both respects; 2) while there was relative increase in the number of Negro workers employed in clerical and white collar positions, a significant gap remains between employment of whites and Negroes in these fields; 3) although there were more Negro industrial workers than before, occupational discrimination was not diminished; 4) even though many Negro women quit domestic jobs, they still predominate in that field; 5) over the years 1940-1950 total average family incomes of the Negro people increased from 37% to 43% of white incomes; 6) because living costs of the Negroes increased more rapidly than those of the white population, there was no improvement in relative purchasing power over the decade; 7) since the war the living standards of Negroes in cities have been reduced about one-fourth compared to a cut of about one-eighth for white urban working people.

ROBCOCK, STEFAN H., "The Negro in the Industrial Development of the South," Phylon Vol. 14, 1953, pp. 319-325.

Economic factors heavily underlie many aspects of the discrimination question, in particular as regards employment. A large part of the population and labor force in the South is Negro. The low income status of the Southeast as a whole is, in large part, a reflection of the extremely low income received by Negroes.

Table 1. (U.S. Bureau of the Census)
Median Income of Families and
Unrelated Individuals 1949

	Amount	Percent of U.S.
United States		
All families and individuals	**$2,619**	**100**
Southeast		
All families and individuals	**1,745**	**67**
Non-white families and individuals	**935**	**36**
White families and individuals	**2,173**	**83**

Employment Situation for Negroes in the Southeast:

According to the 1950 federal census, about two-thirds of the total Negro employment in the Southeast was in agriculture and in the service industries. The other one-third was primarily in manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade, construction and in the public utility fields. A larger share of the Negro labor force than the white labor force was in farming and the service industries. A smaller share of the total Negro labor force than of white employment was in manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade, mining, construction and transportation, communication and other public utilities.

Changes:

Over the period of 1940-1950 the total number of Negroes employed in the Southeast declined by 3% as compared with an increase of 27% in the total number of white workers. During that period, the number of Negroes in agriculture, service industries, and mining declined. In agriculture, the decline was almost one-third, substantially more than was the case for white workers in that field; in service industries, a decline by 3% as compared with an increase of 44% for white workers; in mining, the decline was 23% as contrasted to an increase of about 25% for white workers. In the three most rapidly growing industry fields, manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade, and construction, the rate of increase in Negro employment was only slightly less than for white workers.

By types of occupation:

In 1950, only 5% of the Negro workers were in professional, managerial, and sales and clerical fields, as compared with 27% for white workers. Less than 5% of Negro workers were in the skilled fields of craftsmen and foremen, as compared with 13% for whites. The other 90% of the Negro workers were divided almost equally between three broad categories: (1) farm laborers and farmers; (2) operatives and laborers; (3) private household and other service workers.

However, in three areas (1) managers, officials, proprietors; (2) clerical and sales workers; (3) operatives and semi-skilled workers, Negro employment expanded more rapidly than white employment. In the professional fields and the skilled craft and foreman occupation, Negro employment expanded, but at a lesser rate than for white employment.

The shortage of local entrepreneurship, technical skills, and capital, is a general problem facing the Southeast, resulting in large part from the region's past concentration on agriculture. As the South becomes more industrialized, it may train more potential entrepreneurs. However, new entry into fields may become more difficult; technological and managerial requirements more complex; capital requirements may increase. Thus, the problem of employment in Southeastern industry is, for most people, a matter of securing a job as a wage or salary earner in industry. Here are important opportunities for expanding Negro employment.

One of the most important opportunities is to eliminate the shortage and improve the quality of trained Negro personnel for jobs available in the Southeast. The training and education of Negroes has not caught up with the expansion in job opportunities.

"Market research is necessary to find out where opportunities for Negroes are occurring; to find out more about the requirements and standards for employment; and to examine the experience of Negroes who have entered some of these new employment fields. . . . Negro educational institutions must maintain high standards and turn out well-qualified and well-trained graduates. . . . Another need is that of providing an adequate number of Negroes with high quality training for the appropriate occupations."

STEELE, H. ELLSWORTH, "Jobs for Negroes: Some North-South Plant Studies," Social Forces **Vol. 32, 1953, pp. 152-162.**

Problem:

Are the Negroes actually offered broader opportunities in northern than in southern branches of national firms? What types of jobs do Negroes have in each region? What are they paid? What have been the companies' experience with them as workers?

To secure answers to these questions, nine case studies were made in three industries. From a small metal products firm, data was obtained covering three branches, two northern, and one southern. A rubber manufacturing concern gave data on a northern complex of plants, on one western and one southern plant. A northern public utility furnished rather complete data for the study, and two southern utilities gave more limited information. Executives in each plant were interviewed and additional information was obtained by questionnaire and correspondence.

Findings:

Any conclusions drawn from this limited study must be in the nature of hypotheses for further investigation. On a number of points, however, the case studies seem to confirm beliefs already held. Northern firms offer Negroes a greater variety of job opportunities than do southern ones. Nevertheless, in both regions the Negroes are concentrated in the less desirable, lower paying jobs. Only rarely do whites and Negroes "mix" on the same job in the South, but such mixing is common in the North. National firms adapt their practices to local mores, often hiring local men as personnel managers to facilitate this policy. The CIO unions studied are apparently more favorable in their attitudes toward jobs for Negroes than are the AFL craft unions. Even in the CIO unions, though, there seems to be a gap between official policy and local practices.

The investigation revealed certain factors favorable to Negro advancement. Negroes are apparently making progress toward job equality in the North, with some gains even in the salaried ranks. With close selection of "pioneer" Negroes, careful preparation of supervisors and fellow employees, and cooperation from the union, northern firms can gradually introduce Negroes into new position. Younger people who have had previous contact with Negroes in schools and elsewhere adjust quite easily to Negroes on the job, at least during a period of "full employment." This previous contact on a plane of equality or near equality, it must be noted, is entirely lacking in the South. Nevertheless, there does seem to be a "softening" of attitude among southern employers and the general public. . . . All of the southern representatives contacted insist that they give Negroes "equality of treatment" on "policy matters" such as vacations, service awards, etc. . . .

"Several danger points indicated by the study should be stressed. First, technological change . . . threatens the Negroes' job security in the South. Unless new jobs are opened to Negroes, machinery replacing hand labor may force them into unemployment.

"Second, with the pressure for more jobs for Negroes mounting, new industries in the South must adopt a policy which makes allowance for that demand if unfavorable results are to be avoided. Under current customs the division of labor between whites and Negroes which is established when the plant is first put into operation becomes the permanent pattern for that plant, except in rare instances. Therefore the hiring policies of newly established plants are crucial."

STEVENS, RUTHERFORD B., M.D., "Interracial Practices in Mental Hospitals," Mental Hygiene **Vol. 36, 1952, 56-65.**

Since psychiatrists, with a new consciousness of the role social issues play in mental health, are studying the problem of racial prejudice, it appears pertinent to investigate the interracial practices that prevail in psychiatry's own domain—the mental hospital.

Two hundred fifty-three public and 191 private mental hospitals and sanitaria in the U. S. were canvassed. The most complete list possible was compiled from information provided by the FSA and the National Committee for Mental Hygiene. In the first survey responses were received from 107 public and 72 private hospitals. A followup letter produced responses from an additional 84 public and 33 private institutions. Altogether 296 responses were received from 444 institutions to whom questionnaires were sent.

The survey did not include the psychiatric sections of general hospitals.

A questionnaire was sent to the institutions mentioned above, addressed to the superintendent. The questionnaire consisted of two parts: Part A requested statistical data relative to the numbers of white and non-white patients and personnel in the institutions; Part B contained questions directed toward eliciting information about interracial practices in operation in the institutions and the attitudes of the administrative official.

Findings:

Some states have laws on segregation in hospital facilities. Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina have provisions requiring segregation generally in hospitals. Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia require separation in the case of mental patients. New York and New Jersey have laws that prohibit racial segregation in public hospitals.

A wide variety of interracial practices was found to exist in mental institutions. The first question of Part B had to do with the placing of Negro patients in the hospital. The responses from most public institutions of the South indicated that Negroes are usually completely segregated, with placement in separate buildings. Most public institutions in the northern and western states placed Negroes without respect to race. Divergent practices within the same state (particularly border states) are particularly interesting in view of the fact that many administrators explained their discriminatory policies in accordance with community traditions. It is a frequent assumption that segregation rises with the percentage of Negroes in the population, but in the instances just mentioned segregation occurred, generally, when the percentage was lower.

Twenty-three of the 105 private mental hospitals responding indicated that they accept Negroes as patients. Two of the private hospitals doing so are located in the South. Practically all of the private hospitals that accept Negroes indicated that very few are referred to them and they rarely have more than one or two Negroes at a time.

The second question of Part B was concerned with the seating of Negroes in the dining rooms of public institutions. In general some form of segregation was present in all institutions in which segregated placing in wards was in effect.

Question 3 of Part B had to do with segregation in recreational activities. In public institutions, less segregation was found in this area than in any other studied.

The fourth question dealt with the utilization of Negro personnel. One hundred thirty public institutions with mixed patient populations replied to this question. Thirty-four employed Negro personnel. In eight hospitals Negro personnel attended Negro patients only. With the exception of three hospitals associated with universities, no Negro physicians were found to be employed by private mental institutions.

Question 4 gave opportunity for comments. Most of the administrators from the South expressed definite conviction that complete segregation was the method of choice in handling Negro patients.

Findings:

The number of Negro professional personnel employed in mental institutions is small. A larger number of institutions employ Negro attendants, although usually in small numbers.

Many administrators seemed to fear that the employment of Negro personnel will cause trouble, in that some of their personnel might leave. This fear has been proved unwarranted in the many occupational areas in which the barrier of racial difference has been removed in recent years.

Administrators in southern sections of the country were almost unanimous in the opinion that complete segregation was the method of choice in handling Negro patients.

A few administrators described personal experiences during World War II in which a policy of non-segregation was adopted in certain military hospitals located in the South without the difficulty anticipated by many members of the staff.

Numerous white and Negro mentally ill patients from regions of marked racial discrimination and segregation have been successfully treated in non-discriminatory hospital environments without evidence of detrimental effect from the change in racial practices. This experience is very common in hospitals located in border states with large out-of-state population.

Most southern administrators expressed the belief that Negroes prefer to be segregated. Only one administrator of an institution outside the South expressed the opinion that Negroes prefer segregation.

The survey responses seem to indicate that many psychiatrists, as a result of their personal experiences, feel that intergroup tension and prejudice represent a disturbance in the sphere of mental health as well as in the social relations and adaptation of individuals.

TURNER, RALPH H., "The Non-white Female in the Labor Force," The American Journal of Sociology **Vol. 56, 1951, pp. 438-447.**

This paper analyzes some of the comparative labor force rates for white and non-white females in the U. S. in 1940, and attempts to shed light on some of the ways American racial patterns alter work participation.

Findings:

The labor force rates for the Negro female population are in keeping with the simple expectation that a disadvantaged group should have a large proportion of its members in the labor force to compensate for underemployment and underpay.

The hypothesis that the character of the Negro female labor force is partly different from the white is further supported by the comparison of labor-force rates by age. The white percentage shifts much more in those years when one would expect large numbers of women to drop out for marriage and child-bearing.

Variations in age, marital status, and number of children account, together, for only a small fraction of the excessive non-white labor force rate. Significant variables must be sought in other types of differences.

The relationship of the female to the male labor force rate is of importance. There is considerable evidence that the female labor force increases with male unemployment. The limited evidence here is against concluding that high Negro female labor force rates are associated with high Negro male unemployment rates.

For Negroes, the number of jobs available would seem to be of primary importance.

Age differences seem to be consistently the most important demographic variable elevating the non-white rates.

The hypothesis of a great incidence of the "necessity" type of motivation, and lesser incidence of work for "career" or "diversion" among non-whites, would be consistent with the trend figures and age differences in particular.

The present low economic status and family disorganization of the non-white may not be so important as the fact that, to some extent, this has come to be the normal situation for many. Preparations for a given condition conveyed in the folk tradition may make its effect quite different, as suggested in adjustment to seasonal work.

TURNER, RALPH H., "The Relative Position of the Negro Male in the Labor Force of Large American Cities," American Sociological Review **Vol. 16, 1951, pp. 524-529.**

The purpose of the paper is to measure certain types of Negro-white male inequality, and to attempt to ascertain some of the characteristics which differentiate those cities with the greatest inequality from those with the least inequality. The two specific types of inequality to be measured are employment and occupational level. These indicate, respectively, the degree of effctive labor force participation, and, for those employed, the level at which participation is attained.

Five groups of factors, based on hypotheses frequently found in the race relations literature, were examined for their association with the two indices. Besides region, the groups of factors were as follows: 1) white and Negro employment and occupation levels; 2) labor force variables, including labor force and employment rates for females; 3) demographic variables, including city size, proportion of Negro population, and changes in the total, and in the Negro population through migration; 4) industry composition, measured by percent of employed males in each of eight major industries; and 5) "social organization" variables, of which housing and educational level were used.

Data was analyzed for 90 cities which, in the 1940 census, had populations of over 100,000. These cities were classified according to their position above or below the median in both employment and occupational equality. Thus an HH city is one in which both types of equality are above the median.

Findings:

1) There are slight but insignificant negative associations between occupation and employment inequality.

2) Association with regional differences is highly significant for employment, but not for occupational equality. 42% of the HH and 54% of the HL are southern cities; zero% of the LL, and 4% of the LH are southern.

3) Negro employment level is, importantly, a function of the general community employment level; but the interracial differential in employment is not.

4) High occupational level and relative employment equality are significantly associated in those cities with relative occupational equality, but not in those with relative inequality. Regional differences are insignificant here.

5) In the North and West only, there is a significant negative association between equality and Negro male employment; and between occupational equality and white employment.

6) Factors which showed no significant relationships included Negro male labor force rate; non-white net migration; total population of city; and percent of residences needing repairs.

7) Employment equality is associated with high Negro female labor force rate; low white male labor force rate; and high Negro female employment rate.

8) In the North and West only, there is a significant negative association between size of the Negro population and employment equality; but a positive association with occupational equality.

9) Cities with the greatest occupational equality are those with the least mobility of the Negro population; while greatest employment equality goes with high mobility of the Negro population. Since the greaetst equality of occupation is found in the less mobile cities, the mobility of the Negro population may not be a factor, except as it is part of the total mobility of the community.

10) Manufacturing cities are marked by relative intergroup equality of occupation, but marked inequality of employment; just the reverse is true for trade and financial cities. The effective differences appear to lie in the Negro occupational level, with a preponderance of Negroes being found in the "operative" categories as compared to their numbers in service work in the manufacturing cities. An additional factor is possibly the lesser protection afforded Negroes in manufacturing cities against discriminatory employment in unsegregated occupations.

11) Median years of school completed for Negro males alone and for total population is associated positively with employment equality, and negatively with occupational equality.

TURNER, RALPH H., "Foci of Discrimination in the Employment of Nonwhites," American Journal of Sociology Vol. LVIII, 1952, pp. 247-256.

The purpose of this paper is to suggest a point of view and method for examining discrimination against a minority group.

Inequality of status may be due to unequal qualification or to factors not related to qualification, in which case the term "discrimination" may not be assigned.

By "foci of discrimination," the author refers to various stages of discrimination (e.g. at the educational or occupational level) and various references of discrimination (e.g. discrimination against all Negroes for any type of work, or discrimination against some for some type of work).

The purpose of the present paper is to make some tentative measurements regarding some foci of discrimination affecting the Negro's job status, based on 1940 census data.

To what degree, the author asks, can differences in educational attainment account for the Negro male's deficiency in occupational status? Using a variant of the "expected cases" technique, it was found that approximately two fifths (39%) of the occupational deficiency of non-whites may be attributed to the factor of education. "The residual three-fifths is attributable to discrimination and types of qualification not indicated by educational attainment."

The same question may be raised with regard to the Negro male's deficiency in securing employment, regardless of type of occupation. On exploration, it was found that close to three quarters (74%) of the Negro's excess unemployment must be attributed to discrimination and qualifications not indicated by education.

Does unemployment force Negro males into jobs at lower levels than those for which they are educationally qualified? Or, is it the case that the Negro males are disproportionately located in those occupations where large amounts of unemployment are "normal"?

"... the evidence supports the second alternative emphatically. The occupational distribution of non-white male workers is more than sufficient to account for all the excess non-white unemployment. . . . The non-white is disproportionately concentrated in occupations which have high unemployment rates, and very little differential unemployment would remain if the non-white participated proportionately in the various occupational categories."

The analysis thus far suggests two hypotheses: (1) Discrimination is more strongly focused at the stage of attaining a high-level occupational status than it is at the stage of attaining the qualification for such a status. (2) The focus of discrimination is principally on the type of job which may be secured, rather than on mere attainment of employment. "Discrimination is most concerned with keeping the non-white in a subordinate status, and inequality of total employment is principally a by-product of this rather than a consequence of discrimination focused on the employment of non-whites per se."

Further analysis indicates that the discrimination pattern is made more intense by the fact that the Negro male is most discriminated against in those occupations where there is the greatest unemployment rate for white males.

An analysis is then made of the interrelations of education and occupation as they bear upon unemployment. By both gross and net measures, occupational difference is more important than educational deficiency in accounting for unemployment differentials. But there is a pattern of "joint" influence, such that, upon more refined analysis, it is found that "the two foci of discrimination are found to be of approximately equal importance, education being a little more important when farming is included, and a little less important when farming is excluded."

Regional differences are striking. For, though the regions are similar with respect to the total impact of the two factors, "they differ in the degree to which the impact of education operates directly . . . on employment. The indirect influence of education through occupation . . . makes up 46 percent of the total influence of education in the North and West, and 78% in the South."

A possible interpretation is that, in the South, the "institutional structure operates early in the individual's life to convert discrimination into unequal qualification, reducing the need and possibility for open discriminaton within the labor market."

Further analysis reveals different patterns for men and women. Thus, for women, "from three quarters to seven eighths of inequality in employment must be attributed to discrimination and qualifications not indicated by occupation. . . . The importance of education relative to employment is greater than in the case of men, but more of its influence is indirect, depending on occupation."

". . . regional variation is generally similar for the two sexes. The combined direct and indirect relation of educational deficiency to excess unemployment is only slightly less for women than for men, in both regions; but the focus at occupational inequality is much less important and is replaced in importance by a strong focus on employment per se."

Possible implications:

If all the available discrimination is now out in the open, then, "elevating the non-white's education should improve his occupational standing and reduce his unemployment simultaneously." But if much discrimination is still latent, i.e. ready to be exercised, but not yet had an opportunity to be exercised, then, "raising the non-white's education might change neither his occupation nor his unemployment, but would increase manifest discrimination of the sort being measured in this paper."

TURNER, RALPH H., "Negro Job Status and Education," Social Forces Vol. 32, 1953, pp. 45-52.

Ample evidence from a variety of sources demonstrates that the Negro in the U. S. is disadvantaged in occupations and employment. Further evidence indicates that the differential in educational qualification is insufficient to account for the Negro-white differential in job position.

This paper asks to what degree education is related to the occupational position and employment of the Negro.

Two opposing hypotheses:

1) With educational attainment generally lower among Negroes than among whites, it might be supposed that a greater premium would be placed on such education as there is. Consequently, the data for Negroes should show a higher correlation between education and job position than the data for whites.

2) On the other hand, it may be contended that the limited range of occupations open to the Negro and the general characteristics of the minority position, render such qualifications as educational attainment less relevant to occupational placement than they would be for whites. According to this hypothesis, we should expect to find the correlation between education and occupation lower for Negroes than for whites.

Viewing educational attainment and occupation as two of the individual's statuses, we may ask whether minority position makes for greater or lesser degree of integration between these statuses.

Coefficients of contingency were computed between educational attainment and occupation, and between educational attainment and employment, for native whites and Negroes separately. Data from the 1940 census, tabulated from a 5% sample of the population, were used.

Findings:

The data support the hypothesis that the minority status of the Negro leads to a lessened correlation between education and job position. For men, but not for women, in the rural South, this observation is fully accounted for by the characteristics of the range of occupations available to the Negro. In urban areas, however, the Negro-white differential exists within occupations.

The significance of the present findings lies in this possible extension. If education is taken as an index of standard job qualifications in general, the following hypothesis emerges: within a disadvantaged minority group, the relevance of standard occupational qualifications to socio-economic status is reduced. If the relation between educational and socio-economic status is taken as an index of the type of relationship among the statuses, the following hypothesis emerges: members of a disadvantaged minority group tend to be characterized by a lesser average degree of integration among their various statuses than are members of the majority group.

TURNER, RALPH H., "Occupational Patterns of Inequality," The American Journal of Sociology Vol. 59, 1954, pp. 437-447.

The focus of this article is upon the variations in Negro-white occupational equality at different levels of educational attainment. In general, one ought to expect least equality where the jobs are the most desirable from the white point of view. Thus, Negroes ought to be found most concentrated in those jobs least desired by whites. These expectations should be met when racial preference operates throughout the labor market.

An index for measuring relative concentration or restriction of a minority group within an occupation was devised and applied to 1940 census data.

Findings:

Most exclusion of Negroes was found in the rural South, followed by the urban South, with least exclusion in urban North and West.

Though both Negroes and whites decline in their participation in unskilled jobs as their education increases, the Negroes escape less frequently.

In the rural South completion of grade school by whites is accompanied by a small percentage increase in their presence in semi-skilled jobs. Most striking are the sizable jumps in Negro participation in jobs higher than unskilled which accompany increases in education. At the skilled level, we find some degree of exclusion of Negroes at all educational levels.

Percentage-wise, white participation in white collar occupations increases to high school level and Negro participation increases with each increment of education. Unusual Negro participation in professions results in part from Negro professionals being freer from white competition because of the unwillingness of white professionals to accept Negro clients. Also, fewer Negroes are qualified to serve as professionals.

Among farmers, there is a consistent pattern of decline in white membership with education, but Negro participation decreases relatively more rapidly. Among whites, the ratio of owners to tenants increases with education, but there are severe restrictions on ownership for Negroes. Hence, Negroes with higher education escape the occupation because of their unequal position within it.

The author feels that the patterns of inequality in certain occupations may be considered fully accounted for on the basis of the general principle that Negro concentration is an inverse function of the degree to which whites seek entry into the occupations.

Migration, Residence and Housing

YAMAMURA, DOUGLAS S., University of Hawaii, HARRY V. BALL, JR., Pomona College, "A Study of Landlords' Ethnic Preferences in a Polyethnic Community."

(The following is an abstract of a paper read at the 1956 Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Society held in Detroit in September. The abstract is the author's own.)

The decision of a landlord to prefer or restrict tenants of certain ethnicities is a social act. It is a choice made in a particular socio-economic context which includes the values of and the alternatives open to the landlord. In 1952 quesionnaires were mailed to the landlords of a random 5% sample of the units registered with the Honolulu Rent Control Commission. Each landlord was asked to state his tenant-ethnicity preferences and restrictions for seven ethnic groups: Chinese, Filipino, Haole, Hawaiian, Japanese, Negro, and Puerto Rican. Sixty-six percent responded. Separate analyses were made of the responses of Caucasian, Chinese, and Japanese landlords, and the responses of each were related to the "market situation." The dominant patterns were a preference for "all groups" or for only "one group." The "one group" tended to be "own group." The first variation on the one-group pattern was a tendency for the discriminating landlords to enlarge their preferences through the three top status groups, although the order of enlargement varied with landlord ethnicity. These and other variations appeared to be the result of differential tenant availability within particular rent classes. Thus, the clearest contrast was between the Chinese and Japanese landlords, and these two groups were also the most diverse in terms of the possibilities offered by the socio-economic situation.

BRUSSAT, WILLIAM K., "Incidental Findings on Urban Invasion," American Sociological Review Vol. 16, 1951, pp. 94-96.

In the past it was felt that Negro expansion tended to radiate into adjacent areas of residential blight. This study indicates the existence of other patterns.

From a neighborhood survey in Milwaukee data was secured on 197 families (30 Negro) in the Merril Park Area, which has experienced a recent Negro invasion.

Findings: Current invasions do not seem to follow the traditional pattern. Rather, they seem to be saltatory, leap-frogging over white areas to establish minor Negro districts in deteriorating outlying areas.

There is evidence of other such saltatory invasions taking place elsewhere in Milwaukee, and one would expect that they would be into older, more blighted areas. Yet there is some indication that this is not necessarily the case. For instance, there is a small beginning of an invasion in the northeast boundary of the city into an area which is relatively new. This invasion will represent a jump of some four to five miles from the old Negro district.

The evidence of home ownership and expressed desires indicates that invasion is not thought of in temporary terms by the invaders.

There was no indication of a return to the Negro district for shopping purposes.

Church attendance was chiefly in the new or other districts, rather than the old Negro district.

The neighborhood is no exception to anti-Negro sentiment; 35% of those whites expressing a desire to move gave the Negro invasion as a reason. However, the main reason for desiring to move, in both Negro and white cases, was the smoke and noise of the nearby railroad yards.

LEE, ROSE HUMM, HILLMAN, ARTHUR and DRAKE, ST. CLAIR, Roosevelt University, "A Re-survey of the North Kenwood-Oakland Community."

(The following is an abstract of a paper read at the 1956 Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society held in Detroit in September. The abstract is the authors' own.)

A resurvey of the North Kenwood-Oakland Community was undertaken to determine: (1) the changes in the socio-economic characteristics of the population, (2) housing conditions, (3) institutional adaptation to incoming residents, and (4) measure the extent of personal and social disorganization through health, juvenile delinquency, crime, truancy, and relief cases.

The 1951 survey was mainly statistical and did not reveal the dynamic aspects of rapid and successive sub-invasion and sub-succession contained within the overall invasion-succession cycle.

Members of the North Kenwood-Oakland Community Conference, block leaders, sociological students, and staff members of the Kenwood Ellis Community Center and the Sociology Department of Roosevelt University, coworking in teams, restudied the units employed in 1951. The 1955 sample was doubled; interviews of new residents were obtained; patterns of mixed land-use were determined; residents who remained were asked why they did and what would make them move; supplementary data was supplied by public and private agencies; block members undertook the preparation of graphic materials, made a census of "store front and house type" churches, spotted all abandoned cars, and so on.

Factors accelerating rapid sub-invasion and sub-succession include: (1) flight of white residents to new areas; (2) displacement of "poor whites" by Japanese and Negroes; (3) exodus of Japanese to California and other locations in Chicago as more Negroes moved in; (4) slum clearance, and (5) relaxing of restrictive covenants. The older Negro residents, in turn, contributed to the process by moving ahead of urban renewal as well as attempting to reestablish themselves in communities reflecting their higher socio-economic status. The community has changed from the very highest socio-economic level to a much lower level, and from all white to overwhelmingly Negro occupancy within a fifteen year span.

Institutional adaptations, as reflected by established churches, indicate a new type of religious service and ritual, personnel, institutional policy and membership, and leisure-time activities. Fourteen "house type" churches and a church-community center have emerged. A handful of faithful white and Japanese members return for church services.

The major need of the area is that of reaching those residents who show no inclination to join existing social, religious, or recreational organizations, are cut off from effective interaction with the "middle-class" oriented organizations, but whose integration to a greater degree is necessary and vital for achieving reorganization of the community.

McKEE, JAMES B., University of Toledo, "Race, Housing, and Urban Renewal: A Toledo Housing Study."

(The following is an abstract of a paper read at the 1956 Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society held in Detroit in September. The abstract is the authors' own.)

It is the thesis of this paper that American urban communities now confront a serious social problem created by three interrelated developments: the rapid movement to the suburbs of the white population, especially the middle class; the resulting disproportionate increase of Negroes in the central city; and the decay and blight of the aging core of the city. One set of consequences is a concentration of Negroes in the city's decaying core, an intensification of racial residential segregation, and a ring of white suburbs around the central city. Another is that the aging core is reaching that end-point of decadence where it must be renewed if it is to be inhabitable by even the lowest economic groups. Community action on housing and urban renewal, however, cannot avoid the problem of race.

The Toledo Housing Survey Project elicited some data of significance for community programs for urban renewal. It documented the increase of the Negro population in the aging core of the city, and the more intense use of available dwellings. But more significantly, it revealed a remarkable increase in Negro home-ownership, the means by which they became home-owners, and the consequent emergence of a Negro housing market. Additional data on Negro income and employment revealed significant gains for Negroes in economic status. Some of the implications of these data for community life and for social policy in regard to housing, segregation, and urban renewal are discussed.

PURDAY, LAWSON, "Negro Migration in the United States," The American Journal of Economics and Sociology Vol. 13, 1954, pp. 357-362.

In 1920, three of the Census Bureau's nine areas, the South Atlantic, the East South Central, and the West South Central accounted for 85% of the Negro population in the United States.

Between 1920 and 1950, the Negro and white populations grew at almost identical rates (44%and 42% respectively), but the Negro increase in the three areas mentioned was only 14.7%. In the six other areas the gain in Negro population was 210%. Sixty-two percent of this gain has taken place in the last ten years. The six states which accounted for 81% of the Negro population increase in 32 states, between 1920 and 1950 were: New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, and California.

The author postulates that "It would be better for all if the migrant population were scattered throughout many states and throughout each of the states in rural as well as urban sections."

ROSE, ARNOLD M., ATELSEK, FRANK, and McDONALD, LAWRENCE, "Neighborhood Reactions to Isolated Negro Residents: An Alternative to Invasion and Succession," American Sociological Review
Vol. 18, 1953, pp. 497-507.

There are now a large number of otherwise white neighborhoods into which one or two Negro families have moved. Mixed housing seems to be becoming the dominant pattern in at least the northern cities. This study concerned itself with the social consequences of this new pattern of Negro-white living in American cities.

In 1951, 545 interviews were made in eight Minneapolis neighborhoods which were chosen because there was a Negro family living in what was otherwise a white neighborhood. In four cases, the Negro had been resident for at least ten years. In the other four, the Negro families had been resident less than two years. In each group of four neighborhoods, two were chosen from lower income levels, and two from middle levels.

Findings: 1) for areas where Negroes have been living at least ten years, respondents who live in the primary zones (homes on both sides of the street within one block of the Negro's dwelling) include a larger proportion in favor of interracial association than respondents in secondary zones (all other area in the neighborhood); 2) there was no difference between the zones when the Negroes had resided there less than two years; 3) those in the primary zone who have more contacts with their Negro neighbors have more favorable attitudes toward those neighbors and association in general—but only if the Negroes are long-time residents; 4) those who are more integrated into the community, or who have a stronger stake in the neighborhood, are more inclined to accept the Negro family, when the family has been a long-time resident; 5) the same type of white families mentioned in (4) resist more strongly, however, a more general racial integration of the neighborhood; 6) respondents with children of pre-school age are least likely to have relationships with the Negro neighbors and most likely to be hostile to interracial associations in general, whereas the opposite is true of respondents with older children; 7) the more educated the person, the more likely he is to be favorable to interracial association, but the less likely he is to have contact with his Negro neighbor.

Conclusions: 1) there is a tendency to accommodate the Negro as a neighbor; 2) if the residential pattern of northern cities takes the form of a scattering of Negro families living in predominantly white areas, the prognosis is that this would tend to increase the acceptance and accomodation of Negroes by whites.

Overviews

BROWN, WILLIAM H., "Attitudes Toward the Education of Negroes," Phylon Vol. 13, 1952, pp. 153-160.

"During the last decade, public education for Negroes in the South has improved at a phenomenal rate." It is becoming increasingly apparent that the economic status of the South can be improved through increased output of agricultural and industrial goods, and that the informed or educated person can produce more than the uninformed. Thus, the education of Negroes is important to the South, and the interplay of attitudes in the South with respect to the education of Negroes is crucial in any effort to delineate the educational progress and outlook of the South.

The purpose of this article is "to identify attitudes that have been frequently expressed by Negroes and whites with regard to the education of Negroes."

Attitudes Expressed by Whites:

a. *Liberal Attitude*

There are some white people in all sections of the country who are eager to see improvements made in opportunities for Negroes and who are actively concerned with bringing about these improvements. The basis for the interest which white persons have in Negro education is important, for "frequently it determines the extent and duration of the support given the Negro education." This attitude is expressed more often in the North than in the South.

b. *The Conservative Attitude*

Another group of white persons also believes in equal educational opportunities. However, all improvements in the educational status of Negroes should be made within a framework that preserves the basic caste relationships. This view is prevalent in the South. They believe that any change in the caste relationship of Negroes and whites is untimely, or unwise, or detrimental to tranquility.

c. *The Reactionary Attitude*

A segment of white people in America retain the belief that the Negro is biologically as well as socially inferior. This group holds that too much education makes a Negro "uppity" and he tends to get out of his "place." It feels that opportunities for Negroes cannot be broadened without taking opportunities from white people. This view is prevalent among whites in the rural South, and it appears that there are southern politicians who prefer to keep it so.

Attitudes Expressed by Negroes

"Among the Negroes there is a strong conviction that literacy and educational competence have a direct bearing on the jobs they obtain, the pay they receive, and on their participation in American life. To them, the basic problem confronting Negroes is to gain for themselves and for later generations all of the advantages of American education as rapidly as possible. While most Negroes are opposed to legally sanctioned racial segregation, some are more tolerant of the segregation pattern in schools than are others. This difference in amount of tolerance for segregation gives rise to differences in attitude. . . ." which can be fairly well described by three overlapping positions.

a. *The Militant Attitude*

These persons are unalterably opposed to segregation. This is essentially the position of the NAACP. The militant exhibits great consistency in his attitudes, beliefs, and values. He is impatient with social processes which do not produce the consequences demanded by democratic philosophy, and he uses court action, etc., as catalysts.

b. *The Passive Attitude*

There are some Negroes who place high value on education but who do not seriously object to the maintenance of the caste relationship. "To them, inferior schools are God's will. . ." They see to it that their children learn the attitudes and behaviors required for adjustment to their environment.

A second group of Negroes of the educationally passive type are those who have vested interest in the maintenance of the caste relationship. These persons maintain their economic and social status by behaving in ways that please influential white people.

c. *The Compromising Attitude*

Those holding this type of educational attitude maintain that, while complete integration of Negroes into American life is desirable, it is not immediately attainable in the South where full participation of Negroes in community life is often prohibited by law or by persistent custom. They favor a step by step approach. "Many improvements in the education of Negroes represent direct results of compromise."

Conclusion

"The prevailing combination of Negro and white educational attitudes is a crucial factor which regulates the rate at which educational progress is made in the South."

JOHNSON, GUY B., "A Sociologist Looks at Racial Desegregation in the South," Social Forces **Vol. 33, 1954, pp. 1-10.**

The South has already experienced some measure of desegregation, and the action of the Supreme Court may soon invalidate all segregation laws.

The sociologist can do two things to make an intelligent projection of the course of social change in any given situation: 1) identify the significant factors; and 2) study parallel actions (historical) as a means of identifying the dynamics of the present situation.

The value system of white dominance (different only in the South because there legal sanctions have been added to social norms), and the dualistic nature of our social structure are the basic determining factors in the new adjustments arising from desegregation.

Other important factors are: class status; population ratios—trouble to be expected where the ratio of Negroes to whites is very high; rural-urban differences;

general economic outlook—economic progress lessens the danger of tensions based on economic insecurity; the general state of mind of the southern people; and the attitudes of persons in positions of leadership and authority.

The study surveyed 19 southern public institutions of higher learning which have recently admitted Negroes for the first time. These were University of Texas, Louisiana State, University of Arkansas, University of Oklahoma, Oklahoma A & M, University of Missouri, University of Kansas, University of Louisville, University of Kentucky, University of Tennessee, University of North Carolina, University of Virginia, William and Mary, Richmond Professional Institute, Medical College of Virginia, University of West Virginia, University of Maryland, University of Maryland Professional Schools, and the University of Delaware.

In the period 1948-52 approximate Negro enrollment in these schools totalled 450 (almost exclusively limited to graduate or professional levels). He estimated that 1,000 or 2,000 Negro students had been in contact with white students during regular sessions during the 5-year period.

Findings:

1. Despite numerous predictions of violence, the transition to racial co-education in southern universities has been accomplished without a single serious incident of friction.

2. We found almost universal agreement that the Negro students were handicapped by their inferior educational background.

3. White students have expressed relatively little overt rudeness or antagonism toward these Negro students. Most of them are simply indifferent.

4. White and Negro students have already learned new patterns of working, eating, and living in close proximity without serious disturbance to their sense of social privacy.

5. Reasonable projections and expectations:

a) The initial period will be one of tension, evasive actions and experiments. The natural reaction of white people will be to try to define the new situation in terms of the existing norms.

b) The initial period is likely to see an increase of aggression against Negroes, race rumors, and occasional violence. There is a real prospect that a series of reactionary social movements might crop up in various places in the South.

c) There will be no mass mingling of the races in the urban schools, largely because of the existence of distinct communities of the two races. Not more than 10% of the total of Negro and white students in cities will be attending school together for a long, long time.

d) In rural farming areas, the proportion of mixed school units will be somewhat higher.

e) The only areas to have complete racial integration in the schools will be those areas which have very low Negro population ratios.

f) Official norms of "equal treatment" of all students will soon develop.

g) Equal-status social contacts will be very rare.

h) Negro teachers will probably suffer some loss of jobs, at least temporarily.

i) The financial cost of the public schools in the South will increase quite heavily.

Conclusions:

1. The change we are going to face is going to have a gradualistic, rather than an evolutionary quality.

2. "I believe that whether the Supreme Court takes a flat stand against legal

segregation or reaffirms the separate-but-equal doctrine, the net effect will be about the same . . . both involve consequences which will materialize in a gradual manner."

3. The net consequences of the abandonment of compulsory segregation may be short of what many people feared they would be, but they may also be short of what many people hoped they would be. "I suggest that the greatest positive consequence may be that the South will be rid of the stigma of unfair legal compulsion against the Negro and that the Negro will be rid of a hated symbol of second class citizenship."

LEE, FRANK F., University of California, Riverside; "A Cross-Institutional Comparison of Northern and Southern Race Relations."

(The following is an abstract of a paper read at the 1956 Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society held in Detroit in September. The abstract is the author's own.)

This paper suggests that the North, while separating the races in most areas of behavior, does not do so in education because integrated education does not symbolize integration in other institutional areas. The South, on the other hand, sees school integration as a threat to other forms of segregation. Thus, the North has been enabled to proceed with school integration while the South has not.

To illustrate this contention this paper compares the history of race relations in a small Connecticut town and the South in general. Three areas of behavior are considered: education, religion, and housing. In education racial integration developed in Connecticut Town from around 1870; in the South segregation was scarcely breached until recently. Religion, however, became a segregated institution in both areas. The basic difference is that the Southern Negro church appeared by the late 1700's, while in Connecticut Town it arose only after 1920. The same trend is found in housing with Connecticut Town increasingly resorting to residential segregation, while the South maintained it throughout.

In both areas increasing institutionalization and bureaucratized procedure of existing systems made changes more difficult. Timing also is important with respect to these symbolic meanings of change, i.e., there has been less resistance to integration in both areas when it came gradually.

SIMPSON, GEORGE E., and YINGER, J. MILTON, "The Changing Patterns of Race Relations," Phylon Vol. 15, 1954, pp. 327-345.

This is a study of the changes in patterns of race relations in three areas: (1) the theory of causes and consequences of prejudice and discrimination; (2) economic, political and educational patterns; and (3) new ideas of strategies that are effective in reducing prejudice.

(1) Changes in Theories

Earlier explanations of prejudice, based on biological differences or instinctual antipathies, have given way to studies of the process through which one learns to be prejudiced, and an analysis of how prejudice and discrimination are used.

(2) Changes in Economic, Political and Educational Patterns

a. *Economic:* Major changes are occurring in southern agriculture, most notable of which is mechanization, which tends to force Negroes off farms into urban areas. In the cities, more industrial and occupational diversification for Negroes occurred in four years during World War II than in the period 1865-1940. The FEPC laws seem to be settling racial economic differences in a peaceable manner. Negro business enterprises have concentrated in fields which are not subject to full competition of white business. In general, the economic improvement of the Negroes has tended to increase Negro self-respect, and these changes in self-attitudes, plus increased pay and steadier work, have resulted in more stability in Negro family life.

b. *Political:* The number of Negro voters in southern states had increased, due in part to the elimination of the poll tax in some states, and to the 1944 Supreme Court ruling against "white primaries." Major legal changes include the 1946 ruling against segregation on interstate busses; elimination of pay discrimination; outlawing of restrictive covenants; and increased desegregation in the Armed Forces.

c. *Educational:* The number of Negro college students increased from 10,000 in 1930 to 75,000 in 1947, when 85% of the Negro students were enrolled in 105 segregated institutions. Standards at segregated schools in 17 states have been raised, though not as much as in white schools. Though professional and graduate studies still are highly restricted against the Negro, the recent Supreme Court decisions on the schools may help promote further change.

(3) Changes in Strategies for Reduction of Prejudice and Discrimination

It is now realized that the effectiveness of a strategy depends on the situation and the personalities or groups involved. There is an increasing tendency to take an experimental approach to strategy. Exhortation and propaganda are effective only if they are part of a more elaborate program. Contact between groups on an "equal status" basis often leads to reduction of prejudice and discrimination. Education continues to play an important part but by itself is rarely effective. The importance of organizations in the field of intergroup relations has been given more recognition.

"Much remains to be done before the United States will measure up to its own ideology that every man is to be judged on his own merits, without reference to his race, his religion, or his national origin. Yet the developments of recent years permit us a guarded hope. . . . These changes, and not the continuing prejudice and discrimination are the significant facts of the last decade."

SPRAGUE, THEODORE W., "The Rivalry of Intolerances in Race Relations," Social Forces Vol. 28, No. 1, October 1949, p. 68.

The main thesis of this article is that "a highly developed system of class stratification, or a segregation of groups of any kind on the basis of religious, ethnic, or other cultural differences, tends to inhibit the according of great importance to 'racial' features as a criterion of status; and that consequently in this country we have the paradox that the ideals of the 'American Creed', to the extent that they have tended to weaken the development of class stratification and ethnic and religious segregation, have actually functioned to perpetuate and intensify, rather than the reverse, the caste disabilities of the American Negro."

In the United States the Negro's present position is that of a lower caste. This was preceded by a system of slavery which was characterized by considerable harshness of treatment with a minimum of restrictions upon the slave owner over his property. There was a discouragement of manumission. When slavery was abolished, only through violence, there was accorded to the ex-slave only a minimum of rights. By contrast, in those areas colonized by Iberian peoples, (notably Brazil) there is a virtual absence of caste and, in general, expectation and desire of eventual racial amalgamation. Slavery was peacefully abolished and when it existed was characterized by less harshness, regulations restricting and limiting the rights of the owner, and the prevalent practice of manumission. After the end of slavery the status of the ex-slave was nearly the same as that of any other free citizen.

Among northern Europeans, slavery had been extinct for a long time prior to its introduction into the American colonies, while slavery in the Latin colonies represented the transfer to the New World of pre-colonial patterns. Features of the classical institution of slavery had continued among the Iberians and also the legal and moral restrictions on the right of owners which had been developed and codified centuries earlier. Among the Iberians eligibility for enslavement was determined not by race but by cultural or religious differences or by conquest. In the Anglo-Saxon colonies, on the other hand, slavery developed specifically in relation to the Negro.

Recent studies of Brazil have shown a system of class stratification in which, although there are more whites on top than on bottom, race is merely one among many symbols giving its possessor social advantage. In the Anglo-Saxon countries, race is a badge that has absolute meaning; in the Latin Countries it is merely one among many symbols. Thus, while the Iberians are more likely to draw radical status distinctions and to accord the occupants of these statuses a radically unequal distribution of rights and duties, they do it on the basis of different criteria. It is precisely because they make other status distinctions that they are less interesed than Anglo-Saxons in doing so on the basis of race.

In the Latin countries there is a highly developed system of class stratification based on many criteria. These latter are felt to be so important as determinants of rank and social distance that race never developed into more than something to be averaged in with other criteria. When a Negro ceased to "behave like a savage" or "behave like a Negro" he was treated as a European and expected to play a European's role. In the United States and Anglo-Saxon countries, the situation has been the opposite. The bond arising from common class, religion etc. was not strong enough to override the force of "racial" segregation. In both the United States and the Iberian countries, there are two systems of stratification, "caste" and "class." In the United States the caste (i.e., racial caste) is emphasized; in the Latin countries stratification by class is emphasized. The sentiments and values of the 'American Creed' have "paradoxically, tended to suuport caste, rather than the reverse, for since . . . rival non-coinciding bases for segregation tend to inhibit each other, any force which tends to undermine one basis will to that extent tend to support those incompatible with it."

Desegregation Processes in Various States and Cities

HOLLOWAY, RALPH S., "Desegregation in Delaware: The Setting, Techniques and Strategy," (typed manuscript).

"Segregation and discrimination," says the author, "are multi-determined and their elimination requires a multi-dimensional program based on an understanding of the dynamics of social change and social control." He suggests that desegregation procedures and techniques in Delaware should be evaluated with reference to two dimensions; the effect of such action on the population, and modifying and limiting variables such as the anitpathy of local citizens in the power structure, institutionalized behavioral systems which pattern resistance to social change, and the broad social and cultural context in which education has developed in Delaware.

Apathy and neglect have characterized the general population's stand in Delaware on education, and it has only been in the last three and a half decades that an adequate system has been developed, at least for the white population. The 1950 census indicated a greater Negro-white educational disparity than existed in any other state.

Even though local school boards come under the general policy of the State Board of Education, and state appropriations supply over 90% of the local school operating budgets, desegregation has only been partially implemented in thestate. Neither a moralistic nor an educational approach will be sufficient to alter the situation in southern Delaware where deep local antipathies exist, unless supplemented by legal means such as court orders, enforcement of school attendance laws, and the upholding of the law and suppression of violence by forthright police action.

JOHNSON, GUY B., "Racial Integration in Southern Higher Education," Social Forces Vol. 34, 1956, pp. 309-312.

There has been a quiet revolution in the traditional patterns of race relations in the South, which has been accomplished with almost no incidents of overt racial conflict. Prior to 1938 one could have counted all integrated institutions of higher education on the fingers of one hand, but now there are well over a hundred such institutions. Continued progressive adjustment has been somewhat endangered due to the crystallization of resistance since the 1954 desegregation decision of the Supreme Court, but the realm of higher education, as a special and somewhat isolated segment of the total southern culture, has been the most favorable place to begin educational desegregation.

The author suggests that the following factors have been decisive in the orderly transition from complete racial segregation in southern institutions to a new pattern of racially mixed schooling: 1) The Supreme Court provided judicial and involuntary force which removes responsibility for the decision from local officials. 2) Social norms are changing in the South, and many exceptions to white supremacy in attitude and practice are tolerated. 3) Pioneer Negro students did much to elicit favorable attitudes and establish an expectation of good performance. 4) Administrative action has held overt conflict situations to the very minimum. 5) There has been little or no publicity concerning Negro students or racial affairs. 6) The traditional spirit of southern friendliness, though somewhat superficial, has helped to make the situation more bearable. 7) Separate social worlds have been maintained. "We believe that this social dualism which has been carried over from the larger society to the southern campus, constitutes a crucial accomodative factor in the relatively peaceful transition from segregation to integration in southern higher education. It is, so to speak, the price of peace."

LOEB, MARTIN B., "Kansas City Does Its Duty," typewritten 4th draft prepared for joint meeting of SPSSI, SSSP, NAACP, March, 1956.

Desegregation has been a live issue in Kansas City. The city's "southern exposure," its effort to maintain a southern tradition, and its increasing economic affiliation with North, West, and East rather than the South, sets the stage for conflicting feelings. However, when a decision is made, preferably by some outside authority which serves to remove the responsibility for the decision from local officials, action is fast and effective. "It might be said of Kansas City . . . that when the law, either economic or constitutional, is firmly laid down, they go along with it almost gratefully." The area of faculty integration is still one in which progress has not been adequate.

The direction of progress in race relations can be ascertained if the American social system is viewed as basically a social class system involving opportunity for mobility, with a color caste system superimposed upon it. With abolition, Negroes entered into the social class system, though always held back by caste restrictions. Since that time the caste line has been pushed from its position as a thick horizontal barrier to an increasingly thinner and more vertical barrier. Within the context of a push-pull effect upon the barrier, the following propositions may be made: "a) As the caste line moves toward a vertical position, it moves with greater speed. b) As the caste line moves, it decreases in strength as a barrier to social participation. c) As the caste line moves, the social class composition of the lower caste more nearly simulates the upper caste class system."

Some problems that need careful attention are: timing, interpersonal frictions across the race line which are interpreted as race problems, and the fact that a very large proportion of Negroes are lower class and are not motivated to do well within the educational system, the answer to which lies, of course, in the improvement of the school system in general, and not in the simple process of desegregation.

MENDELSOHN, HAROLD, "The 'Student Strike' as a Socio-Psychological Reaction to Desegregation," (mimeographed, re-publication copy).

Within a context of social change, conflict may be expected during the interim between the breaking up of old patterns and the substitution of new ones. This study is concerned with such a case occurring in the initial phases of desegregating Washington D. C. high schools. A questionaire was administered to 75 randomly chosen students participating in the student strike against desegregation, begun the day before by about 1,000 Anacostia High School students. An attempt was made to discover what socio-psychological factors: a) seem to be operating in the initiation of and continuing participation in the strike; and b) will be brought to bear on the settlement of the strike.

In the formulation of hypotheses, eight factors were derived without which the strikes never could have started, nor continued for any length of time. They were: 1) community opinion unfavorable to desegregation; 2) negative student attitudes toward desegregation; 3) inadequate and unsystematic orientation and preparation of the students involved in the desegregation process; 4) readily visible racial "scapegoat" stimuli—the fabrication of incidents and rumors; 5) precedent behavior; 6) reference group pressures; 7) adult approval of the strike; and 8) the participants' conviction that desegregation would be stopped as a result of the strike. The interview results indicated that all these conditions were either satisfied, or were perceived as satisfied, by the participants.

The strike appeared to have been brought to an end by a combination of the following factors: 1) assemblies and special appeals; 2) the crystallization of sanctions by the police and school officials; 3) negative community reaction; 4) deglamorization by the press; and 5) failure to become a social movement due to the lack of leadership, ideological motivation, and morale. The author suggests that such violent acts can best be avoided if issues, problems, policy stands, and sanctions be clarified as much as possible before desegregation action is taken, to prevent the formation of perceived conditions which, in fact, do not conform to reality.

Comparative Pathologies

AXELRAD, SIDNEY, "Negro and White Male Institutionalized Delinquents,"
American Journal of Sociology **Vol. 57, 1952, pp. 569-574.**

It is apparent that there are differences in the incidence and treatment of Negro and white delinquents. But how the Negro and white delinquents differ, except in gross respects, chiefly a statement of court offenses, is not known. The present study is an attempt to determine what these differences are and to set forth some hypotheses for their origin.

The study was confined to one state institution, and only to children who had been committed by the children's court as delinquent. Case studies were made of 300 boys—179 Negro and 121 white—who had been committed between 1933 and 1934 as delinquents. They were between the ages of 10 and 16 at the time of commitment. The 300 cases constituted about 90% of the institutional population at the time.

Findings: The Negro group was almost two years younger than the white at the time of admission, and Negro children were younger than white at the time of their first court appearance. Negro children were institutionalized after a smaller number of court appearances than were the whites. ". . . there appears to be a tendency for the white delinquent to be afforded a larger number of probationary periods prior to institutionalization than is the case with Negro delinquents." Length of institutionalization was almost the same for both groups. The Negro children were committed for less serious as well as fewer offenses than were the whites.

The Negro children, much more than the white, came from area characterized by high delinquency rates and high population density. Only 18% of the Negroes lived with both parents, compared with 46% of the whites. Eighty-five percent of the Negroes came from broken homes compared with 50% for the whites. Factors other than death were clearly evident for the proportion of broken homes among the Negro delinquents. The median number of children in the Negro families was three, contrasted with a median of six for the white families. Twenty-five percent of the Negro children were illegitimate compared with 5% for the whites. Differences in parental factors and family constellations point to a much greater instability among the homes of the Negro children than the white children.

The study discloses that Negro children were committed younger, for less serious offenses, with fewer previous court appearances, and with less prior institutionalization. Negro children came from more unstable homes with a different kind of family pathology from the white delinquents."

FOX, VERNON and JOANN VOLAKAKIS, "The Negro Offender in a Northern Industrial Area," The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science Vol. 46, 1956, pp. 641-7.

Statistics show that in the state of Michigan in 1940, 20% of the prison population were Negroes, while Negroes comprised only 4% of the general population. By 1950, with 7% Negro in the general population, the percentage of Negroes in the prison population had risen to 40%. The southern states were noted to have held a rather constant proportion of Negroes in their prisons compared with the proportion in the general populations of these states. Thus, the hypothesis that "the Negro in contemporary American culture constitutes an entirely separate social group which, when transported to an unfamiliar socio-economic milieu, finds difficulty in adjusting." This study hopes to determine some of the social, psychological, and occupational differences between Negroes and whites in the prison population.

1,000 whites and 1,000 Negroes were selected at random from the population of the state prison of Southern Michigan at Jackson in May, 1951. All had arrived during 1949-50.

Findings:

Negroes tended to commit more: (1) homicide; (2) assault; (3) larcency (4) narcotics violations; whereas whites tended more to commit: (1) burglary; (2) forgery; (3) embezzlement; and (4) drunk and disorderly offenses.

More than one-half the whites were natives of Michigan; less than one-fourth of the Negroes were natives. Most came from industrial areas, especially around Detroit before their arrest.

The vast majority of in-migrant Negroes intended to stay in Michigan. In regard to marriage: there was greater fluidity in marital status among Negroes, with many common law relationships.

An occupational breakdown showed more whites were in the skilled, the agricultural and the clerical and sales occupations. More Negroes were in the unskilled industrial and service occupations. The IQ mean of the whites was 96.6 while 83.4 was the mean for the Negro.

KEPHART, WILLIAM M., "Negro Visibility," American Sociological Review Vol. 9, pp. 462-467.

In the fall of 1952, a two-phase investigation was begun which dealt with racial factors and law enforcement. The two phases were: (1) relationship between race of offender and race of arresting officer; and (2) a study of assignment policies and efficiency patterns as they pertained to the interrelation of Negro and white police.

These two phases were conducted in the city of Philadelphia and consisted of gathering district arrest figures by race as well as an extensive interviewing program with policy commanders, Negro policemen, Negro community leaders, and editors of the Negro press. In addition, a printed questionaire was given to the 2,101 white policemen assigned to district (precinct)duty.

The questionnaire was designed primarily to reveal something of the opinions held by white policemen regarding their occupational relationships with Negro policemen.

Of the 2,101 questionnaires, 1,081 (51.5%) were returned.

Findings:

1) About 80% of the respondents overestimated the Negro arrest rate in their own district. 2) The higher the actual arrest rate of the Negroes the greater was the overestimation of that rate. (The author suggests that as Negro numbers increase arithmetically, their mass visibility, perhaps up to a certain point, increases exponentially. 3) The higher the estimated Negro arrest rate, the more likely it is that the white policemen making the estimate will have unfavorable opinions about Negro policemen. 4) 91% of the respondents also overestimated the number of Negro policemen on the force. 5) The hypothesis that a relationship exists between the white policeman's estimate of the Negro arrest rate and his estimate of the number of Negro policemen on the force was not supported.

MILNER, ESTHER, "Some Hypotheses Concerning the Influence of Segregation on Negro Personality Development," Psychiatry

Vol. 16, 1953, pp. 291-297.

To what extent, and in what ways, does segregation influence the personality development of Negro children?

The author assumes that basic life trends are established during the first few years of life. By no later than early adolescence, the Negro's awareness of his social devaluation assumes the proportion of a severe personal emotional stress situation. The effect of this stress situation is more directly related to the psychological health or "ego strength" developed in infancy and early childhood than it is to "the presence or absence of legal segregation in the region in which he is reared." Thus, an "ego-strong" Negro child is less adversely affected by discriminatory practices than a child with a weakened ego structure.

It is recognized that the Negro family itself is affected by the presence of segregationist practices.

It is contended that the elimination of legal sanction for segregation provides opportunities for types of relations which reduce mutual mis-evaluations. The removal of such sanction is claimed as a necessary precondition for the development of integrated personality functioning among American Negroes.

YANKAUER, ALFRED, JR., "The Relationship of Fetal and Infant Mortality to Residential Segregation," American Sociological Review

Vol. 14, 1950, pp. 644-648.

In New York City, between 1945-1947, the annual average non-white infant mortality rate was 87% higher than the white rate. In 1940 the Negro infant mortalitiy rate in U. S. cities with a population over 100,000 was 62% higher than the white rate. In 1943, it was 63% higher.

This paper inquires into the possible relationships between residential segregation and fetal and infant deaths among Negroes and whites in New York City.

Findings: 1) All of the combined white and non-white mortality rates in regions of high Negro density are at least twice as high as the corresponding rates in regions of low Negro density.

2) If non-white mortality rates in neighborhoods with less than 5% Negro population had prevailed among all Negroes, 1,400 fewer Negro deaths would have

occurred. If the white mortality rates in neighborhoods with less than 5% Negro population had prevailed throughout the city, 2,600 fewer deaths would have occurred.

3) It may be concluded from (1) and (2) above that both white and Negro fetal mortality rates increase as the proportion of Negroes in the neighborhood increases.

4) The explanation of the differences in the non-white rates in different areas cannot be found in the socio-economic status of the Negroes, but rather in the physical and social environment of these neighborhoods where the Negro is concentrated.

5) For the urban white, rental paid is reflective of income. For the urban Negro, rental paid is largely determined by residential segregation. These factors may affect non-white mortality rates (1) through the housing conditions themselves; (2) through the drain on family budget, leaving less for food and medical care.

6) The population density of the ghettos limits recreational space and creates unsanitary conditions, as well as overloading neighborhood medical facilities. Moreover, one expects to encounter greater special breakdown and more unstable family structures in such neighborhoods. Indirectly, at least, these may be expected to influence fetal and infant mortality rates.

Miscellaneous

BRODERSEN, ARVID, and GOLDSTEIN, JACOB, "Opinions Concerning Desegregation in Schools: A Study of Poll Data, 1942-1955," 1956, (Mimeographed).

One of the questions asked in three polls conducted by the American Institute of Public Opinion within five weeks after the 1954 Supreme Court decision on desegregation was concerned with approval or disapproval of desegregation. It was found that approval varied with the level of formal education, i.e., those who had completed college were generally more favorable than those who had only completed high school. The latter in turn were generally more favorable than those who had merely completed grammar school. This relationship held true nationally, among southern whites, as well as non-southern whites, and in the three major age categories. There were, of course, absolute differences on a regional basis..

There is probably no one general explanation for this correlation between educational level and approval of desegregation, but presumably certain types of educational influences are effective in creating more favorable attitudes. It has also been suggested that education is a selective process in which persons more likely to acquire a higher level of formal education are less likely to be prejudiced.

What available evidence there is suggests that a shift in the direction of greater popular approval of desegregation has taken place since the early 1940's. One of the reasons postulated for this lessening of prejudice is the increased enforcement of non-discriminatory practices that has taken place since that date. The authors also feel that the large scale distribution of anti-discriminatory educational material may have had some influence. The process of interaction between these two elements is not known, but the authors conclude that "these considerations do not detract from the impressiveness of this major finding of the study: namely, the fact that a period which was characterized by increasing enforcement of non-discriminatory practices, and by the dissemination, on an unprecedented scale, of materials intended to reduce prejudice, was also characterized by a definite shift in the direction of greater popular support of non-discriminatory measures."

GOLDEN, JOSEPH, "Characteristics of the Negro-White Intermarried in Philadelphia," American Sociological Review

Vol. 18, 1953, pp. 177-183.

Marriage records for each five year period between 1922 and 1947 in Philadelphia were searched for Negro-white marriages. 141 such families were found. The license bureau record on these cases yielded several items susceptible to study; race by sex, age at marriage, place of birth, occupation, previous marital status.

Since few of these families could be found, informants and observation were used to locate 141 Negro-white families. Fifty of these families were interviewed, most of them more than once. The remaining 91 families yielded only knowledge of the race of the spouses.

There is no certainty that the families studied constituted a representative sample of the Negro-white marriages within the last generation.

Findings:

1) 58.5% of the Philadelphia Negro-white intermarriages were between Negro men and white women.

2) In contrast to the commonly held opinion that it is the lighter mulattoes who tend to intermarry, the majority of Negro spouses, both men and women, of the group studied are Negroid in appearance.

3) Eighty-eight out of 91 Negroes were native-born. Of the 91 whites however, 21, or one out of three, were foreign born. Thier countries of birth were mainly those from which Negro soldiers obtained white wives during World War II. In these cases, one of the factors which facilitated intermarriage was the lack of knowledge of American disapproval of such marriages.

4) There appear to be only small differences in general educational achievement, which does not confirm the prevailing notion that well educated Negro men marry ignorant white women. Up to the completion of high school, the Negro men married white women of similar or higher educational achievement; those with college education seemed to marry women with similar or lower education. In the group of white husbands and Negro wives, the figures are too small to perceive any trend.

5) Negro-white intermarriage in Philadelphia is not restricted to any particular occupation. The occupational distribution tends to be somewhat like that of the general population, though the 50 interviewed families were heavily weighted in the upper levels.

6) The Negro husbands were either on an equal or higher occupational level than their white wives. Most of the white husbands outranked or equaled their Negro wives in occupational status.

7) "One is struck by the relatively large number of Roman Catholics among the Negro husbands, the white husbands, and the Negro wives. The latter two categories are probably explainable by the national derivation of these two groupings—the foreign-born white men, and the white women from Catholic countries who married Negro servicemen. Outstanding among the white brides, are the Jewish women. Whether this phenomenon is to be explained by the fact that the Jews in the U. S. constitute a minority group is open to question." Less than half of the marriages were homogamous in the matter of religion.

HINDMAN, BAKER M., "The Emotional Problems of Negro High School Youth Which Are Related to Segregation and Discrimination in a Southern Urban Community," Journal of Educational Sociology

Vol. 27, 1953, pp. 115-127.

Writers have often assumed that the prejudices and anti-social feelings of Negro youth result from actual experience with segregation and discrimination. This study investigates the nature of the relationship between experiences involving contact with members of the white race and feelings of hostility or resentment, or other emotionalized attitudes, of a group of Negro high school youth.

A sample of 497 students was drawn from the 11th grades of the Negro high schools of Dade County (Miami) Florida. In this area, Negroes comprise about 17% of the total population and of the school enrollment.

An open-ended anonymous four part questionaire administered by Negro social studies teachers was used.

The following was asked: "Suppose you had the power to change our ways of living in Miami and Dade County. State, in a sentence each, the three changes you would make first."

The students were then asked:

(1) to check from a list the three kinds of activities in which they had most contact with whites.

(2) to describe the most unpleasant experience which they had ever had involving white persons, and what they felt like doing at the time.

(3) to describe any pleasant experience they had had involving white persons.

Findings:

(1) The most frequently desired changes were in the areas of education, recreation, race relations, housing, employment, government, etc. The following table shows how often abolition of segregation was listed as a desired change, although no mention had been made to the students of race relations.

Area	Urban Boys	Urban Girls	Total	Rural Boys	Rural Girls	Total
Number of subjects	196	266	462	9	26	35
Number mentioning segregation	142	184	326	1	16	17
Per cent mentioning segregation	72	69	71	11	61	49

(2) In response to part two, stores, public transportation, and employment were the three most frequent places of contact with whites for these Negro youth.

(3) Part three showed that the most unpleasant experiences that these youths had experienced with whites were also centered in these three areas. The most frequently reported type of unpleasant experience (reported by 38%) was overt verbal rudeness ("name-calling, ridicule, insulting remarks, etc."); 15% reported exclusion ("being denied admittance or full participation because of being a Negro"). 11% reported more subtle discrimination.

(4) The pleasant experiences these Negroes had had with whites were found to be in the same areas as their unpleasant experiences (i.e. in stores, on vehicles of public transportation and in employment). A larger percentage reported having had no pleasant interracial experiences than reported having had no unpleasant. The impulses of these students in reaction to discrimination and other similar unpleasant experiences with whites are shown in this chart:

Impulse	Boys		Girls		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
To fight	95	57	73	33	168	43
To appeal to authority	3	2	7	3	10	3
To argue	25	15	49	22	74	19
To withdraw	11	7	26	12	37	10
Miscellaneous	17	10	41	19	58	15
Unable to respond	13	8	23	11	36	9
Number of subjects	164		219		383	

Conclusions of the Study:

There was found a highly significant relationship between the feelings of hostility and the types of unpleasant incidents. More aggressive feelings were aroused by overt verbal rudeness (often involving use of the epithet "nigger").

KORNHAUSER, WILLIAM, "The Negro Union Official: A Study of Sponsorship and Control," American Journal of Sociology

Vol. 57, 1952, pp. 443-452.

What is the relationship of the interests of the sponsored and the union leadership as expressed in the selection of a Negro for a national office in a union?

The study encompassed the activities of 34 of the nation's largest unions, with membership equalling ¾ of all organized workers in the country.

The Negro's chances for entrance and advancement within the union hierarchy are related to the size and importance of the Negro membership in his local and in the international; and to the significance of race relations for the position of the union in a given situation. The most outspoken leadership occurs in unions where Negro members predominate. However, a sizable and vocal Negro membership is not enough —there must be a "pull" from the white leadership to put a Negro in office above the local level.

"To stay in power, the union leadership must be able to: 1) win union members in competition with employers, other unions and anti-union or apathetic members; 2) gain union members' support in conflict with other unions seeking to win over its membership; and 3) hold union members' loyalties in conflict with other persons and groups seeking to take over the union leadership.

"These three types of conflict situations, as defined by the union leadership, are the three major kinds of conditions under which Negroes are selected for union office."

More than half the unions studied had used Negroes as organizers where substantial numbers of Negroes were involved. Sponsorship usually takes two paths. Either a person is chosen for nomination for elective offices, or, if the position is appointive, he is put directly in office. In all cases examined, the career line of the Negro leader in a union with Negroes in the minority began in his being active in a local.

The "symbolic Negro" (selected to serve as a symbol of the union to Negroes whose allegiance is sought) "probably typifies the majority of national Negro officials in predominantly white unions." A second type of Negro union leader is the "liason" man. Most Negro officials also serve this function. These two roles of the Negro union leader may cause him to develop a vested interest in the separation of Negroes inside the union. "Nevertheless, there is evidence to indicate that, once a Negro gets into high position in the union, by means of small day-to-day acts he sometimes is able to change his initial role of sharply circumscribed functions to one covering wider and wider areas conmmensurate with that of the white man filling a formally equivalent office."

MONAHAN, THOMAS P., Philadelphia Municipal Court, MONAHAN, ELIZABETH H., American Friends Service Committee, "Some Characteristics of American Negro Leaders."

(The following is an abstract of a paper read at the 1956 Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society held in Detroit in September. The abstract is the author's own.)

Only one-third of the American Negro population is found in the North and yet nearly one-half of the Negro leaders reside there. This dislocation of leadership is a major dilemma of the Negro group. Also, southern born Negroes are much less likely to achieve distinction than those born in the north. These and other significant facts emerge from an analysis of over 2,900 biographies given in the 1950 edition of *Who's Who in Colored America.*

The family and marital relationships of the Negro men in *WWCA* are much like those for outstanding men in general, even to the point, as has been found for other leadership classes, that these Negro men who marry beget an insufficient number of children to replace themselves as families. Negro women, incidentally, more often achieve leadership recognition among their group than do women among the whites. Compared to persons in *Who's Who in America,* a greater proportion of Negro leaders have college degrees. In their occupational pursuits considerable diversity is found, except in the South where nearly one-half are employed as educators.

Negro leaders, according to information on place of birth and place of residence, are quite mobile, but the flow of talent out of the South is not unlike the tide of Negro migration as a whole, and, in the northward migration, there has been an assimilation of northern culture.

Public Opinion Polls and Surveys

In this section, two sets of materials are presented in abbreviated form. The first consists of a set of polls on various issues of relevance to the issue of segregation and integration which were conducted by the American Institute of Public Opinion.

The second set of materials is an extended report of a national survey conducted by the *Catholic Digest* and its research agency, the Ben Gaffin Associates, Inc.

Each set of materials is introduced separately at some greater length.

We are also including a digest of a recent article that appeared in *The Scientific American,* though it appeared after July, 1956, our cut-off date for our survey. The importance of this study prompted us to make this exception.

Other research agencies have also polled public opinion on the issue of segregation from time to time, especially since the issuance of the Supreme Court order regarding desegregation of the schools. Thus, for example, the Texas Poll Survey of Public Opinion (351 West Jefferson, Dallas, Texas) released interesting information on September 3, 1955 and June 10, 1956 regarding attitudes toward desegregation in the state of Texas. Similarly, various newspapers throughout the country have polled opinion among their readers.

Space did not permit us to include the interesting work (privately circulated) done by the Opinion Research Corporation. Two issues of their publication, *Public Opinion Index for Industry,* are of interest to our study: the issue of December, 1951, *Trends since 1944 on the Color Line in Industry,* and the 1956 issue, *The Controversy over Equal Rights for Negroes.*

We limit ourselves to the AIPO and *Catholic Digest* reports because of the greater scope of their coverage, both in time and space.

THE CATHOLIC DIGEST SURVEY

During the months of December 1955 through February 1956, the Ben Gaffin Associates, Inc. Research Agency, on behalf of the Catholic Digest, conducted "the first comprehensive survey of public attitudes toward suggested solutions to the racial problem in the U.S."

Because the survey was so comprehensive and so attentive to problems of adequate survey analysis, it is felt that an extended report of this survey is in order in this bulletin.

The materials which follow are taken almost verbtim from a typed manuscript description of the study and from the five releases about the study which appeared in the *Catholic Digest* during the months of June through October 1956.

SURVEY METHOD

This research is based on 2,000 interviews divided evenly among four representative types of people:

northern whites	500	northern Negroes	500
southern whites	500	southern Negroes	500

All interviews were made personally—and practically all, at the homes of respondents. All of the whites were interviewed by white interviewers and all of the Negroes were interviewed by Negro interviewers. A total of 163 interviewers participated in the work, which was done over a three-month period from December, 1955 to February, 1956.

The Questionnaire

Considerable preliminary work was done before any questionnaire form was drafted. Six successively improved versions were pre-tested among whites and Negroes in both the North and South before the final draft was adopted. Complicated words like "desegregation" are avoided for the most part. The following are the only words used in the questions that are not included in a list of the 3,000 most commonly used words in popular magazines and other writings:

advancement
blackface
brotherhood
classroom
comedian
declaration
dentist
disagree
dislike
earned
employer
gentile
housing
Jew
Jewish
Ku Klux Klan
mechanic
minstrel
politician
Protestant
restaurant
separately
slum
socially
taxicab
tenth
unpleasant
urban
waiter

All questions are worded so that, without change, they may be asked of members of both races.

Most of the questions are of the check box variety, but more than 25 gave respondents opportunity to answer in their own words. For example, "What would you say the Negro-white problem is today?"

Representativeness of the Samples

The 500 representatives of each of the four publics were chosen as a miniature cross-section of the people of that race and section of the country, with variations in the samples conforming with known variations. For example, Negroes in the North tend to be very much concentrated in large cities; Negroes have lower proportions of old people than whites do; and relatively few Negroes or southern whites have Catholic leanings, as reflected in these descriptions of the samples.

	Whites		Negroes	
	North	South	North	South
100,000 or larger cities	33%	18%	77%	21%
2,500–100,000 cities	32	27	15	25
Rural non-farm	24	32	6	24
Rural farm	11	23	2	30
15–34 years	37%	38%	39%	45%
35–54 years	37	37	40	37
55 and over	26	25	21	18
Protestant	61%	86%	84%	87%
Catholic	30	8	10	9
Other	6	3	3	3
No preference	3	3	3	1

The widespread nature of the samples may be illustrated by that for the southern Negroes. Their 500 interviews were made in 31 cities and 29 rural locations spread over all the southern states except Delaware (which is entitled by Negro population to only 20 of the 500 interviews).

Places included in the survey were selected proportionate to population size so that equal-sized clusters of interviews could be made. Within cities and towns, random methods based on census block statistics or local directories were used to select starting points. For the rural interviewing, starting points were selected along rural postal routes according to a prescribed routine. Interviews were made in clusters of six, following a clock-wise route from the starting points, turning right at any intersections. Interviewers were instructed not to skip addresses unless they happened to encounter a string of dwellings occupied by members of the other race, in which case they were permitted to proceed to another side of the block or to the next block along their route. Interviewers were assigned age and sex quotas, to be applied within each cluster of six interviews.

In one respect, the controls over the sample were deliberately altered slightly from the true distribution—for convenience exactly equal numbers of men and of women were included in each sample of 500 although there are somewhat fewer men than women in both the Negro and white populations.

With that one minor exception, the samples appear to be reasonably good cross-sections of the four populations.

A sample of 10 per cent of the 2,000 interviews was verified by mailing return postal cards to respondents.

FINDINGS

ON ALMOST HALF OF THE QUESTIONS THE GREATER PART OF WHITES AND NEGROES, NORTH AND SOUTH, ARE IN AGREEMENT.

They may sometimes agree for different reasons, for different motivations or with special reservations, but it is perhaps encouraging that so many issues are reasonably well settled.

Following are the points on which majorities or substantial pluralities of all four groups, Negroes and Whites, North and South, appear to agree:

That the Negro-white problem is one of the biggest problems in our country today.
That it is a difficult problem to solve.
That it will be solved some day.
That most Negroes want to have it solved.
That Negroes need more help than they have had so far.

That whites should not leave it to Negroes to work out alone.
That individuals should not leave it to the government alone.
That whites are more to blame for the problem.
That whites are not ashamed of the way Negroes have been treated.
That whites worry more about the problem than Negroes do.

That southen whites worry more about it than other whites do.
That some people or groups exaggerate the problem.
That prejudice, fear, and misunderstandings are the biggest obstacles to solution of the problem.
That for themselves they like most members of the other race.
That all men are created equal.

That Lincoln was one of our greatest presidents.
That the problem is nearer to solution in the North than in the South.
That younger whites are more friendly towards Negroes than older whites are.
That a definite plan is needed for solving the problem.
That it needs to be kept in front of people.

That Negroes want pride in race.
That Negro race pride is a help in solving the problem.
That college trained whites and Negroes are the most friendly to the other race.
That education does more good than laws in solving the problem.
That college educations for Negroes help to solve the problem.
That the churches have not done all they should to help.
That slum clearance and low-rent housing help toward solution.
That they would be willing to work for an employer who hired members of the other race.
That higher wages for Negroes help.
That higher class jobs for Negroes help.
That more Negro business and professional men help.
That Negro sport stars, singers and comedians help.
That Negro teachers help.

That race wouldn't matter in these occupations:

Shoe shine boy
Waiter
Auto mechanic
Cook

That giving Negroes the right to vote helps in solving the problem.

That the Ku Klux Klan does not help to solve the problem.
That the Negro population is gaining on the white.
That smaller families for Negroes would help.

SOUTHERN WHITES ARE MOST OFTEN THE DISSENTERS.

These are the points on which majorities or pluralities of southern whites are at odds with predominating opinions in the other three groups.

The dissident position of southern whites is:

That we are getting farther from solving the problem.
That Negroes are different from whites in other ways than color.
That no Negroes would fit in with their own friends even if color were the same.
That both whites and Negroes are more friendly in the South than in the North.

That older Negroes are more friendly to whites than younger ones are.
That the two races should be kept apart.
That Negroes in their own neighborhoods are more friendly toward whites than Negroes in mixed neighborhoods are.
That laws against segregated schools hurt solution of the problem.
That most Negroes want segregated schools.

That most white children would object even to one Negro child in their classroom.
That restrictive covenants on real estate help to solve the problem.
That spreading Negroes through white neighborhoods would hurt solution.
That for themselves they would not be willing to live in the same neighborhoods, let alone next door to Negroes.
That Negroes and whites got along no better during the war than before.

That the Negro-white problem should be worked out by the individual states with no help from the federal government.
That fair employment practice legislation hurts solution of the problem.
That Negro professional people should serve only Negroes.
That Negroes and whites working together does not help in solving the problem.
That for themselves they want whites to serve them in the following occupations:

Taxicab driver
Hospital nurse
Lawyer
Policeman
Sales girl
Judge
Insurance man

That Negroes and whites meeting socially hurts solution of the problem.
That church desegregation hurts solution of the problem.
That the NAACP retards solution of the problem.
That Negro politicians hurt solution of the problem.

On a few points, southern whites are about evenly divided while the other three groups are in agreement.

The majority view of the other three groups is:
That most Negroes feel that most whites are against them.
That suppression of race information in newspaper reporting of crimes helps in solving the problem.
That Negro newspapers and magazines help.
That they themselves would be willing to work beside members of the other race.

NEGROES DIFFER FROM WHITES LESS OFTEN THAN THE WHITES, NORTH AND SOUTH, DIFFER FROM EACH OTHER.

These are the points on which majorities or pluralities of Negroes in both the North and South disagree with majorities or pluralities of whites in both sections of the country.

The point of view of Negroes is:

That moneyed whites are more friendly to Negroes than poorer whites are.
That moneyed Negroes are more friendly to whites than poorer Negroes are.
That whites living in mixed neighborhoods are more friendly to Negroes than other whites are.
That enforcement of present laws is needed more than additional laws or fewer laws.
That the Catholic church has done more than other religious groups to solve the problem.

That Jews would be the scape-goats if there were no Negroes here.
That housing projects should have mixed occupancy.
That it doesn't matter to most Negroes whether they live in white or Negro neighborhoods.
That the Urban League helps in solving the race problem.
That whites doing black-face minstrel shows hurt solution of the problem.

That intermarriage either helps or makes no difference in solving the problem.

That the race of people in these occupations would not matter:

School teacher   Minister
Dentist   Doctor

Four other points involve different views of southern Negroes.

A majority of southern Negroes feels that most whites do not want to have the race problem solved.

Southern Negroes are about evenly divided on the question of whether most whites feel that most Negroes are against them.
(Other groups tend to say whites do not have this feeling)

Southern Negroes side with northern whites in thinking that Negroes in the South worry more about the problem than Negroes in the North do.

Southern Negroes agree with southern whites that most white parents locally would object to even one Negro child in a classroom.

TABULATIONS ON KEY QUESTIONS USED IN CATHOLIC DIGEST SURVEY STUDY

1. "Most suggestions for solving the Negro-white problem seem to be of two general kinds. One is to keep the two races far apart, the other is to bring them closer together. Which do you think is the better idea—to keep them apart or to bring them together?"

	Keep Apart	Bring Together	No Opinion
Total Whites	42%	48%	10%
Northern	32	58	10
Southern	74	17	9
Total Negroes	6	90	4
Northern	3	95	2
Southern	8	87	5

1a. Distribution of Responses to Question 1 by Religion of Respondent

	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish	Other
NORTHERN WHITES				
Keep Apart	33%	30%	31%	23%
Bring Together	58	61	44	61
No Opinion	9	9	25	16
SOUTHERN WHITES				
Keep Apart	75	76	45	63
Bring Together	17	19	33	5
No Opinion	8	5	22	32
NORTHERN NEGROES				
Keep Apart	4	—	—	—
Bring Together	94	100	—	97
No Opinion	2	—	—	3
SOUTHERN NEGROES				
Keep Apart	8	9	—	—
Bring Together	87	84	—	95
No Opinion	5	7	—	5

1b. Distribution of Responses to Question 1 by Education of Respondent

	8 grades or less	9-12 grades	College
NORTHERN WHITES			
Keep Apart	48%	32%	16%
Bring Together	45	58	74
No Opinion	7	10	10
SOUTHERN WHITES			
Keep Apart	87	77	54
Bring Together	7	15	34
No Opinion	6	8	12
NORTHERN NEGROES			
Keep Apart	3	2	3
Bring Together	94	96	95
No Opinion	3	2	2
SOUTHERN NEGROES			
Keep Apart	14	7	2
Bring Together	77	89	96
No Opinion	9	4	2

2. "What do you think are the biggest problems in the U.S. today?"

	Whites		Negroes	
	North	South	North	South
Negro-white, racial	36%	56%	79%	77%
Juvenile delinquency	40	33	27	11
Atom bomb or cold war	36	29	12	9
School needs	20	19	14	12
Living costs, inflation	19	14	15	11
Crime	19	14	9	8
Taxes	17	16	17	6
Unemployment	9	5	14	7
Housing	6	2	18	3
Strikes	5	6	3	1
Other mentions	16	10	4	4
Don't know	4	3	5	5

(Percentages here and in some other tables add to more than 100 because of multiple answers.)

3. "What would you say the Negro-white problem is today? How would you describe the problem? What else is there to the problem?"

	Whites		Negroes	
	North	South	North	South
Whites' prejudice, fear, hatred	34%	10%	34%	32%
Discrimination, inequality	23	14	27	21
Desegregation	12	47	1	1
Segregation	13	1	11	17
Negroes' prejudice, fear, hatred	9	4	9	7
Educational inequality	8	10	6	7
Lack of understanding	7	8	11	9
Economic inequality	6	3	10	12
Different standards, morals	2	4	*	—
Agitation	1	3	—	—
Political issues	*	3	—	*
Other mentions	4	9	5	2
No problem	3	2	1	—
Don't know	14	9	17	28

4. "What would you say seems to be standing most in the way of solving the Negro-white problem today?"

	Whites		Negroes	
	North	South	North	South
Prejudice, fear, misunderstanding	39%	24%	34%	32%
Southern whites, the South	14	2	12	11
Negroes' attitudes, actions	5	7	4	1
Exploiters (politicians, writers, etc.)	3	6	3	6
Inequality, discrimination	4	1	8	5
Older people	3	1	6	7
Desegregation	1	14	—	—
Segregation	3	2	4	5
Economic conditions	2	*	1	*
Agitation, publicity	1	10	*	1
NAACP	—	7	*	—
White people	1	*	2	7
Forcing the issue	1	—	*	—
Lack of Christianity	*	1	3	1
Other mentions	4	3	8	7
Don't know	28	30	24	26

5. "Do you think of any people or groups of people who may be trying to make the Negro-white problem seem worse than it actually is?

	Whites		Negroes	
	North	South	North	South
No, nobody, everybody, all whites, all Negroes	47%	37%	48%	47%
Southern whites	16	2	12	12
Politicians, officials	8	11	5	13
Communists, Russians	7	13	5	4

---

* Less than ½%.

	Whites		Negroes	
	North	South	North	South
NAACP, Urban League	3	19	1	1
Citizens Councils, KKK, NAACP	4	1	13	9
Agitators	1	2	3	2
Northern whites	—	3	*	—
Northern Negroes	*	1	*	*
Teachers, schools	1	1	*	*
Ministers, churches	*	1	—	*
Rich whites	*	1	*	*
Poor whites	—	—	1	1
Unidentified types	9	7	9	12
Other mentions	1	4	3	7
Don't know	8	9	7	6

6. "What do you think would show most people that the Negro-white problem had been solved?"

	Whites		Negroes	
	North	South	North	South
Complete desegregation	16%	3%	22%	17%
Full equality, rights	12	6	26	24
No notice of race, full acceptance	10	8	8	7
Peace, understanding	8	6	9	11
Combined schools	9	2	5	5
Complete segregation	3	11	*	*
Equal education	3	3	3	1
Political equality	2	*	1	2
Adoption of white standards	1	1	—	*
Other mentions	3	5	4	5
Won't be, hasn't been solved	4	7	2	3
Don't know	43	56	34	42

7. "Do you think the Negro-white problem is an easy problem to solve or a hard one?"

	Easy	Hard
Northern whites	14%	86%
Southern whites	12	88
Northern Negroes	19	81
Southern Negroes	28	72

8. "Do you think we are getting nearer to solving the Negro-white problem or farther from solving it?"

	Whites		Negroes	
	North	South	North	South
Nearer	49%	31%	74%	82%
Neither	15	15	9	5
Farther	24	43	11	9
No Opinion	12	11	6	4

9. "Do you think the Negro-white problem will ever be solved?"

	Whites		Negroes	
	North	South	North	South
Yes	50%	48%	79%	85%
No	35	33	12	8
Don't know	15	19	11	7

10. "How many years do you think it will take to solve the problem?"

(Median Estimates in Years)

Northern whites	27%
Southern whites	16
Northern Negroes	23
Southern Negroes	10

11. "Would you say that you like most members of the other race or that you dislike them?"

NORTH	Like	Dislike	SOUTH	Like	Dislike
All Whites	70%	9%	All Whites	67%	11%
Men	72	9	Men	66	14
Women	68	10	Women	69	7
Segregationists	44	24	Segregationists	94	14
Desegregationists	86	1	Desegregationists	78	1
Least prejudiced	87	1	Least prejudiced	74	7
Most prejudiced	17	49	Most prejudiced	62	21
White areas	72	8	White areas	67	11
Mixed areas	60	16	Mixed areas	69	10
Northern Negroes	80	4	Southern Negroes	70	7

Note: "Desegregationists" are defined as those who think tensions would be eased by bringing the two races together; "Least Prejudiced" are those who would be willing to live next door to, or in the same general neighborhood as Negroes; "Most Prejudiced" are those who would refuse to work for an employer who hired Negroes.

12. "Would you be willing to work for an employer who also hired Negroes? Work next to Negroes? Live in the same general neighborhood with Negroes? Live next door to Negroes?

	Employer		Work beside		Neighborhood		Next door	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Northern whites	88%	10%	79%	17%	59%	37%	48%	45%
Men	91	8	82	14	63	35	51	42
Women	86	12	77	20	56	38	46	47
Segregationists	69	28	52	44	23	76	16	82
Desegregationists	99	1	95	4	80	17	69	24
Least prejudiced	99	1	95	3	99	*	82	13
Most prejudiced	—	100	—	98	—	100	—	100
White areas	89	10	80	16	59	36	49	44
Mixed areas	87	10	76	21	60	37	49	46
Southern whites	77	18	48	46	32	65	19	78
Men	83	14	56	41	29	68	15	81
Women	71	22	40	51	35	62	22	75
Segregationists	73	22	40	56	24	74	11	87
Desegregationists	90	5	81	11	62	35	51	46
Least prejudiced	92	7	71	24	96	3	56	38
Most prejudiced	—	100	—	99	—	97	—	100
White areas	76	19	45	49	23	74	14	84
Mixed areas	80	14	58	36	65	32	34	59

13. "Except for their color, in what ways would you say that Negroes are different from Whites?"

	Whites, North	Whites, South	Negroes
They're not different	55%	24%	87%
Worse standards, morals	10	40	1
Different standards, culture	8	11	5
Less educated	12	14	1
Less intelligent	2	18	*
Emotionally different	6	5	1
Lazy, slovenly, undependable	3	9	*
Superior to whites	3	2	3
Physically different (lips, hair)	2	2	1
Odor	1	2	—
Belligerent, aggressive	2	1	*
Dishonest, carry weapons	1	2	—
Don't stick together	—	—	1
Other mentions	2	2	1
Don't know	5	4	1

---

* Less than ½%. Percentages add to more than 100 because of multiple answers.

14. "Do you think that a definite plan is needed for solving the Negro-white problem or that it will work itself out all right?"

WHITES

	NORTH			SOUTH		
	Definite plan	Will work itself out	No opinion	Definite plan	Will work itself out	No opinion
Whites	60%	28%	12%	57%	35%	8%
Men	60	29	11	57	39	4
Women	60	27	13	57	32	11
Segregationists	53	31	16	60	32	8
Desegregationists	67	25	8	53	45	2
Least prejudiced	66	25	9	53	39	8
Intermediate	52	33	15	56	37	7
Most prejudiced	51	30	19	69	23	8
White areas	62	27	11	60	32	8
Mixed areas	48	33	19	48	46	6

NEGROES

	NORTH			SOUTH		
Negroes	65%	29%	6%	73%	22%	5%
Men	69	25	6	71	23	6
Women	61	33	6	76	20	4
Larger cities	65	30	5	71	26	3
Smaller & rural	65	26	9	76	18	6
Negro areas	66	29	5	72	22	6
Mixed areas	65	29	6	78	21	1
Northern born	70	23	7	—	—	—
Southern born	64	31	5	—	—	—
All whites	59%	30%	11%	—	—	—
All Negroes	—	—	—	70%	24%	6%

15. "Do you think that the problem is something for the Negroes to work out by themselves or should whites work on it also?"

	Whites		Negroes	
	North	South	North	South
Negroes by themselves	4%	7%	5%	4%
Whites should also work on it	90	88	92	92
No opinion	6	5	3	4

16. "Some people think that Negroes have already been helped too much. Do you agree or disagree with that idea?"

	Whites		Negroes	
	North	South	North	South
Disagree	77%	59%	88%	93%
Agree	14	26	5	5
No opinion	9	15	7	2

17. "What would you say would be the best way to solve the Negro-white problem? If that couldn't be done, what do you think would be the next best way to solve it?"

	Whites		Negroes	
	North	South	North	South
Education toward understanding	19%	8%	24%	19%
Equal education for Negroes	7	10	2	3
Combined schools	3	1	3	3
Segregation or deportation	14	33	*	1
Equality, justice	15	10	12	10
Desegregation, integration	8	3	13	8
Laws, better law enforcement	6	5	16	30
Religion, prayer, Golden Rule	7	5	15	18
Meetings, discussions	4	2	7	8
Political changes	2	2	1	4
Favorable publicity	2	*	1	1
War	*	1	2	2
States' rights	*	3	—	—
Other ideas	4	5	7	10
Nothing, leave it alone	4	5	2	4
Don't know	39	38	35	31

---

* Less than ½%. Percentages add up to more than 100 because of multiple answers.

18. "Do you think that Negroes and whites meeting socially helps or hurts in solving the Negro-white problem?"

	Whites		Negroes	
	North	South	North	South
Helps	49%	10%	87%	66%
No difference	12	4	7	15
Hurts	30	81	2	7
No opinion	9	5	4	12

19. "Do you think that Negroes and whites marrying helps or hurts in solving the Negro-white problem?"

	Whites		Negroes	
	North	South	North	South
Helps	7%	3%	43%	38%
No difference	7	1	27	26
Hurts	79	91	17	24
No opinion	7	5	13	22

A.I.P.O. RELEASES

The following section contains abbreviated versions of official releases of the American Institute of Public Opinion on issues relevant to the problem of segregation. The time period canvassed was January 1, 1951 to June 30, 1956.

The materials are presented in chronological order, the effective date in each case referring to the date of the official release. No attempt is made here to treat the samples as though they constituted a panel over time.

With the exception of the three releases dated February 27 and 28, and March 1, 1956, the size of the sample is reported unofficially at 2,000. In the instances of the three exceptions, the sample size was approximately 750.

In each case, the version here presented consists of the factual materials contained in the releases. Editorial comments, evaluations of the findings, illustrative samples of interview comments and estimations of trends have been left out.

Each release is identified by a title referring to the main topics analyzed and by the date of the release.

This digest is presented with the permission of Dr. George Gallup.

F.E.P.C.

February 7, 1953

"Some people say we should have a national law requiring employers to hire people without regard to color or race. Other people say that it should be left up to each state to decide on this for itself. With which side do you, yourself, agree?"

AUGUST, 1952		FEBRUARY, 1953	
Left to states	44%	Left to states	47%
National FEPC	32	National FEPC	31
Neither	16	Neither	14
No opinion	8	No opinion	8
	100%		100%

Opinion by Sections

Analysis of opinion today in the various geographical sections of the country shows the weight of sentiment in all areas is in agreement with the South in favoring state control, although the South is more one-sided than elsewhere.

EAST
(N. E. & Middle-Atlantic states)

Left to states	42%
National FEPC	41
Neither and No opinion	17

FAR WEST
(Mountain & Pacific Coast states)

Left to states	36%
National FEPC	32
Neither and No opinion	32

MIDDLE-WEST
(E. Central & W. Central states)

Left to states	44%
National FEPC	30
Neither and No opinion	26

SOUTH

Left to states	72%
National FEPC	14
No opinion	14

By Political Affiliations

	Dem.	Rep.	Ind.
Left to states	51%	47%	43%
National FEPC	31	28	35
Neither, No opinion	18	25	22

POLL TAX

March 4, 1953

"Some Southern states require every voter to pay a poll tax amounting to about a dollar a year before they can vote. Do you think these poll taxes should be abolished, or not?"

Here is the trend of the vote in the Southern states over the last twelve years:

ABOLISH POLL TAX?
(Vote in South)

	Should	Should Not	No Opinion
Apr., 1941*	43%	45%	12%
July, 1948	48	43	9
Apr., 1949	53	38	9
TODAY	59	29	12

* Note: The 1941 question was phrased in a slightly different fashion for voters living in states having a poll tax at the time.

For comparison, here is the national vote and the vote outside the South in today's survey:

NATION: Should abolish poll tax, 71 per cent; should not, 21 per cent; no opinion, 8 per cent.

OUTSIDE THE SOUTH: Should abolish poll tax, 74 per cent; should not, 19 per cent; no opinion, 7 per cent.

Nationally, the survey finds college-trained persons are substantially more in favor of abolishing the poll tax than are persons with less formal education.

Likewise, younger voters are more in favor than are older persons.

Significantly, the vote to do away with the poll tax cuts across party lines. Both rank-and-file Democrats and Republicans vote more than 3-to-1 in favor of abolishing the tax, while Independents are more than 5-to-1 in favor.

MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM FACING THE COUNTRY

April 17, 1954

"What do you think is the MOST IMPORTANT problem facing this section of the country today?"

Here are the top five problems today in each section:

FAR WEST
(Calif., Ore., Wash., Mont., Colo., Wyo. Utah, Ariz., Idaho, Nev., N. Mex.)

1. Unemployment
2. Water shortage, lack of rain
3. Need for more industry
4. Highways, roads, traffic problems
5. { Taxes
   Defense, preparedness

NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE ATLANTIC
(Me., N.H., Vt., Mass., R.I., Conn., N.J., Del., Penna., Md., W. Va.)

1. Unemployment
2. Strikes, labor relations, labor problems
3. Need for more industry
4. Highways, roads, traffic problems
5. High prices, low wages

EAST CENTRAL

(Ill., Ind., Mich., Ohio)

1. Unemployment
2. Farm problems, farm prices
3. Water shortage, lack of rain
4. Highways, roads, traffic problems
5. Crime, juvenile delinquency

SOUTH

(Va., Ga., N.C., S.C., Fla., Miss., Ala., La., Tenn., Ark., Ky., Texas, Okla.)

1. Civil Rights, segregation
2. Unemployment
3. Water shortage, lack of rain
4. Farm problems, farm prices
5. Need for more industry

WEST CENTRAL

(Iowa, Kan., Minn., Wis., Mo., Neb., N.D., S.D.)

1. Farm problems, farm prices
2. Water shortage, lack of rain
3. Unemployment
4. High prices, low wages
5. { Economic situation, recession
Schools, teachers' salaries

SUPREME COURT DECISION

July 12, 1954

"The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that racial segregation in the public schools is illegal. This means that all children, no matter what their race, must be allowed to go to the same schools. Do you approve or disapprove of this decision?"

Here is the vote nationwide of all adults and by North and South:

	NAT'L	North	South
Approve	54%	64%	24%
Disapprove	41	30	71
Undecided	5	6	5
	100%	100%	100%

ALLOW CHILDREN TO ATTEND DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

July 16, 1954

"Would you object to having your children attend a school where the majority of pupils are Negroes?"

The vote:

Nationwide—White Only	
Yes, would object	54%
No, would not	41
Undecided	5
	100%

	Northern Whites	Southern Whites
Yes, object	45%	82%
No	49	15
Undecided	6	3
	100%	100%

NORTHERN WHITES

	Yes	No	Undecided
College	40%	54%	6%
High School	45	49	6
Grade School	50	44	6
Over 500,000	44	50	6
10,000-500,000	45	47	8
Under 10,000	45	51	4
Farm	51	45	4
Republicans	42	53	5
Democrats	49	46	5
Independents	44	48	8

AIPO' SUMMARY OF REACTIONS TO SUPREME COURT DECISION

July 16, 1954

What the Series Has Shown

Here are highlights of Institute surveys to determine popular reaction to the Supreme Court's historic decision on segregation in the nation's public schools:

1—A majority (54 per cent) of the adult population upholds the court's verdict in principle. However, the South, by a vote of 3-to-1, is overwhelmingly opposed. In the North, 64 per cent approve.

2—One interesting aspect of opinion on the issue is the widely divergent views held by the best educated and by the least well educated citizens, particularly outside the South.

While 73 per cent of adults who have attended college say they approve of the decision, 51 per cent of those who have attended only grade school say they disapprove.

3—Two other aspects of interest are that older people are less inclined to go along with the ruling than are younger people, and large city dwellers are much more sympathetic to the decision than are residents of smaller cities and towns and rural areas.

4—The Number One reason given for approval of the verdict is that equal educational opportunity for all citizens is the democratic American way.

The principal reason for disapproval is that different races shouldn't be forced by law to mix in the nation's public schools.

5—When it comes to a practical test of the ruling, however, white Northerners are found to be more evenly divided than they are on the principle of segregation.

By a vote of 49 to 45 per cent, Northern whites say they would not object to having their children attend a school where the majority of the pupils are Negroes, whereas 63 per cent say they approve of the court's ruling.

POLITICAL PREFERENCES

October 27, 1954

"If the elections for Congress were being held today, which party would you like to see win in this state—the Republican party or the Democratic party?"

The vote today in the non-South and South:

VOTE OF NEGROES

OUTSIDE SOUTH		SOUTH ONLY	
Democratic	77%	Democratic	73%
Republican	23	Republican	27

To shed additional light on the "reasons why" Negro voters are voting more than 3-to-1 for Democratic candidates for Congress this year, the Gallup Poll sent a special staff of reporters to interview Negroes in two eastern seaboard cities, Wilmington, Del. and Philadelphia, Pa.

Results of these interviews "in depth" reveal that, despite the hopes of the Republicans, their part in furthering anti-segregation laws has had little effect in winning Negro votes for the party.

The Negro's chief worry today is employment and wages and he has come to believe that the Democratic party is the party of the poor man and the party most sympathetic to his race.

While Negroes do not minimize the help which the Republican administration has given them in doing away with segregation, most of those interviewed believe that the Republicans are merely finishing the job begun by the Democratic party.

Time and again, Gallup reporters heard Negro voters place the emphasis on the "pocketbook" above everything else.

SUPREME COURT DECISION

May 15, 1955

"The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that racial segregation in the public schools is illegal. This means that all children, no matter what their race, must be allowed to go to the same schools. Do you approve or disapprove of this decision?"

Here is today's vote and that of a year ago:

	Today	July, 1954
Approve	56%	54%
Disapprove	38	41
No opinion	6	5

The following tables show the vote on the issue by different regions of the country:

EAST

(Maine, N. Hampshire, Vt., Mass., R. I., N. Y., N. J., Del., Pa., Md. and W. Va.)

	Today
Approve	72%
Disapprove	23
No opinion	5

SOUTH

(Va., N. Car., S. Car., Ga., Fla., Ala., Miss., La., Texas, Okla., Ark., Tenn. and Ky.)

Approve	20%
Disapprove	73
No opinion	7

MIDDLEWEST

(Ohio, Mich., Ind., Ill., Wis., Minn., Iowa, Mo., Kan., Neb., S. Dak., and N. Dak.)

Approve	61%
Disapprove	33
No opinion	6

FAR WEST

(Mont., Wyo., Colo., N. Mex., Ariz., Utah, Idaho, Nev., Calif., Ore. and Wash.)

Approve	77%
Disapprove	16
No opinion	7

One interesting aspect of public opinion on the segregation issue is the divergent views held by the better educated and by the lesser educated citizens.

In an analysis by education, those persons with some college education are found to be more in favor of the Court's decision than are those with high school or grade school training.

This is true both in the South and outside the South. In the South, however, majority disapproval of desegregation is registered in all educational levels.

	NAT'L	North	South
Approve	56%	68%	20%
Disapprove	38	26	73
No opinion	6	6	7

WILL NEGRO AND WHITE CHILDREN GET ALONG TOGETHER?

May 18, 1955

"Do you believe white and Negro children, in the South, between the ages of 6 and 12, would get along together very well, fairly well, or not so well, if they were sent to the same school?"

The vote nationwide:

WHITE, NEGRO CHILDREN AGED 6-12 GET ALONG?

Very well	25%
Fairly well	30
Not so well	39
No opinion	6

A comparison of the vote in the North and in the South follows:

	North	South
Very well	29%	13%
Fairly well	33	22
Not so well	31	62
No opinion	7	3

Results of a recent poll in Texas, conducted by The Texas Poll on the same question, found 24 per cent saying very well, 37 per cent fairly well, 35 per cent not so well, and 4 per cent expressing no opinion.

The second question:

"What about White and Negro children in the South, over 12 years of age. Do you think they would get along together in the same school very well, fairly well, or not so well?"

The vote nationwide:

WHITE, NEGRO CHILDREN OVER 12 GET ALONG?

Very well	11%
Fairly well	24
Not so well	58
No opinion	7

Here is the vote by North and South:

	North	South
Very well	13%	5%
Fairly well	28	11
Not so well	51	81
No opinion	8	3

The comparable figures for the State of Texas: 6 per cent answered very well, 21 per cent fairly well, 70 per cent not so well, and 3 per cent expressed no opinion.

MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS

July 4, 1955

"What do you regard as the biggest issue, or problem, facing the government in Washington today?"

Foreign policy problems, working out a peace, dealing with Russia, Red China	48%
Communism in the U.S.	6
Economic problems, HCL, prices, taxes	5
Government finances, debt, balancing the budget	5
Segregation, discrimination	4
Jobs, unemployment	2
Salk polio program	2
Labor problems, strikes	2
Atomic Energy	2
Farm problems, prices	1
Imprisoned flyers	1
Miscellaneous	6
Don't know	22
	106%

The table adds to more than 100 per cent because some persons questioned named more than one problem.

One year ago, approximately the same number named maintaining world peace as the Number One problem as do so today. But from there on, the lists differ sharply in at least three respects.

McCarthyism, which last year was named by 3 per cent as the most important problem, has all but faded from view.

Communism in the U.S. is named by 6 per cent today, compared with 16 per cent in June, 1954.

The problem of jobs and unemployment is at one of the lowest points in the last 20 years, with 2 per cent naming it today. A year ago the figure was 14 per cent.

POLITICAL PREFERENCES

December 5, 1955

"In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?" The vote of Negroes today in the non-South and South:

NEGRO VOTERS OUTSIDE SOUTH-TODAY	
Democratic	56%
Republican	22
Independent	22

NEGRO VOTERS OUTSIDE SOUTH—1951	
Democratic	49%
Republican	26
Independent	25

NEGRO VOTERS SOUTH ONLY—TODAY	
Democratic	62%
Republican	20
Independent	18

NEGRO VOTERS SOUTH ONLY—1951	
Democratic	48
Republican	35
Independent	17

WHITE ATTITUDES TO SUPREME COURT AND ICC DECISIONS

February 27, 1956

"The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that racial segregation in the public schools is illegal. This means that all children, no matter what their race, must be allowed to go to the same schools. Do you approve or disapprove of this decision?"

SOUTHERN WHITES ONLY	
Approve	16%
Disapprove	80
Undecided	4

"The Interstate Commerce Commission has ruled that racial segregation on trains, buses and in public waiting rooms must end. Do you approve or disapprove of this ruling?"

SOUTHERN WHITES ONLY	
Approve	19%
Disapprove	76
Undecided	5

The wide split in opinion that the segregation issue has brought to the American domestic scene is illustrated by the vote of people in the 35 states outside the South on the two issues—as recorded in the latest Institute survey:

SUPREME COURT'S DECISION
Outside the South

Approve	71%
Disapprove	24
Undecided	5

ICC'S RULING
Outside the South

Approve	67%
Disapprove	24
Undecided	9

Size of Negro Population

The degree of opposition to both rulings in the South is directly related to the size of the Negro population in each of the 13 states.

In the "Border States" of Kentucky, Tennessee, Oklahoma and Texas, for example, where the white-Negro ratio averages eight whites to one Negro, we found nearly one white in four approving of the Supreme Court's decision. Better than one in four favors the ICC's ruling.

Even in these states, however, there is still a large majority of whites who oppose integration on both counts.

Moving into what might be termed the "Mid-South States" of Florida, Virginia, Arkansas and North Carolina—where Negroes constitute, on the average, about 24 per cent of the total population—we discovered slightly greater opposition with about one white person in five favoring mixed schools and a little more than this approving on the ICC question.

It is in the five states of the Deep South—Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, South Carolina and Mississippi—where the greatest opposition and bitterest resentment are found. In these areas—where more than one-third of the population is Negro—nearly nine out of 10 whites are opposed on both questions.

Only about one white person in 17 in these states register approval of the Supreme Court's decision. Integration on trains, buses and in waiting rooms is approved by one person in 12.

NEGRO ATTITUDES TO SUPREME COURT AND ICC DECISIONS

February 28, 1956

"The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that racial segregation in the public schools is illegal. This means that all children, no matter what their race must be allowed to go to the same schools. Do you approve or disapprove of this decision?"

SOUTHERN NEGROES ONLY

Approve	53%
Disapprove	36
Undecided	11

"The Interstate Commerce Commission has ruled that racial segregation on trains, buses and in public waiting rooms must end. Do you approve or disapprove of this ruling?"

SOUTHERN NEGROES ONLY

Approve	82%
Disapprove	14
Undecided	4

The stand that a Southern Negro takes on integration depends to some extent on his schooling, his age and whether he lives on a farm or in a city.

Roughly nine out of 10 Negroes between the ages of 21 and 29 and about the same proportion with college training favor an end to school segregation. Those with grade school educations, those living on farms, and those 50 years of age and over are considerably less in favor of integration.

ULTIMATE FATE OF SEGREGATION

March 1, 1956

"Do you think the day will ever come in the South when whites and Negroes will be going to the same schools, eating in the same restaurants, and generally sharing the same public accommodations?"

The results for whites and Negroes:

WILL DAY EVER COME?

Southern Whites Only		Southern Negroes Only	
Yes	55%	Yes	70%
No	33	No	15
Don't know	12	Don't know	15

Only about one white person in eight in the South thinks that the people in his community will accept the decision quietly without any trouble or attempts at delay. This view is most prevalent in the "border states" of Kentucky, Tennessee, Oklahoma and Texas where integration is already in effect in some communities and where the percentage of Negroes in the population is relatively low.

Adding up the score on the question of what people will do, one finds that the "bitter-enders" —those who are thinking only in terms of preventing integration—outnumber the "go along reluctantly" group—by about 1-to-1.

The 'Hard Core' of the Deep South

A stubborn determination to "just not go along" with the Supreme Court's decision is most noticeable in the Deep South—in Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, South Carolina and Mississippi.

In these states, all of which have a Negro population larger than 30 per cent (and in some instances, counties where more than seven out of 10 persons are Negroes), only about one white person in five thinks there will be any kind of acceptance—willing or unwilling—of the integration decision at present. The rest talk about ways to continue segregation.

FEDERAL AID TO SCHOOLS IN SEGREGATED COMMUNITIES

March 21, 1956

To determine where public opinion stands, the Institute assigned its reporting staff to query an accurate cross-section of voters from Maine to California and from Washington to Florida.

Each person was first asked if he had been following the school aid proposals now before Congress. Six out of every 10 voters said they had.

Those familiar with the proposals were then asked:

"Would you like to see the bill passed if some money is given to communities in the South where White and Negro children are segregated—that is, kept apart?"

Yes, would	61%
No, would not	32
No opinion	7

Analysis of the opinions of the "informed" group reveals these interesting highlights:

A proportionately smaller number of persons who have attended college would favor such a bill than would those who have attended only grade school, as follows:

	Yes, Would	No, Wouldn't	No Opinion
College	54%	39%	7%
High school	60	32	8
Grade school	70	24	6

There is only a slight difference of opinion by party affiliation and what difference there is indicates that Democrats are somewhat more in favor than are GOP voters, as follows:

	Yes, Would	No, Wouldn't	No Opinion
Republicans	60%	33%	7%
Democrats	64	29	7
Independents	58	35	7

As might be expected, highest approval of the issue posed in today's survey is found in the South, where eight out of every 10 voters were in favor. Southern states, which are among the neediest, are determined never to agree to any amendment which would forbid monies to a segregated school system.

The vote by geographical regions:

	Yes, Would	No, Wouldn't	No Opin.
East	55%	38%	7%
Midwest	54	37	9
South	82	14	4
Far West	58	33	9

Outside the South, a majority of white voters say they favor such a bill, while a majority of Northern Negro voters interviewed were opposed.

An Institute survey reported in January found 67 per cent of the public in favor of granting Federal aid to build new public schools even though it would mean higher taxes, while 24 per cent were opposed and 9 per cent expressed no opinion.

INTEGRATION: IMMEDIATE, GRADUAL OR NEVER

May 9, 1956

To sound out public opinion, the Institute assigned its staff of interviewers to talk to an accurate cross-section of Americans in all walks of life, including the proper proportion of whites and Negroes, living in every section of the country.

Each person was asked:

"The Supreme Court has ruled that racial segregation in the public schools is illegal. Which of these points of view comes nearest to your way of thinking about the problem of segregation?"

1. The government should try to bring about the integration of white and Negro children in public schools gradually—that is, over a long period of years	71%
2. The government should do everything it can to see that white and Negro children in all parts of the country go to the same public schools within the coming year	18
No opinion	11
	100%

Of those who want gradual integration, roughly one person in four vouchsafed the answer that if the choice were theirs, they would never permit white and Negro children to be integrated in the public schools.

That's the picture for the nation as a whole. In the South, only one adult in 20 today is in favor of immediate integration. Almost half of those in the 13 Southern states who want gradual desegregation also volunteered that they are against integration at any time.

Considering those who are against integration at any time as a separate group, here is the vote today in the South:

Gradually	45%
Immediately	5
Never want integration	38
No opinion	12

The survey also finds that the greatest majority for the moderate point of view, calling for gradual integration over a long period of years, comes from persons who have attended college. Proportionately the largest number who volunteered that they would never want integration come from those who have grade-school educations.

The vote by education levels, again considering those who volunteered a "Never" answer as a third category:

	College	High Sch'l	Grade Sch'l
Gradually	73%	59%	41%
Immediately	18	18	20
Never	4	14	25
No opinion	5	9	14

HYMAN, HERBERT H. and SHEATSLEY, PAUL B., "Attitudes Toward Desegregation," Scientific American, December, 1956
Vol. 195, No. 6, pp. 35-39.

Attitudes toward desegregation have changed appreciably in the U. S. during the past 14 years, according to a survey by the National Opinion Research Center covering such areas as desegregation in transportation, education, and residential proximity. The survey, which was designed and carried out by the authors, also checked respondents' estimate of Negro intelligence and opinions as to whether Negroes are receiving fair treatment.

1956—In the U. S. as a whole, 60% of the total whites interviewed (North, 73%; South, 27%) favored integration on public transportation facilities, 51% (North, 58%; South, 38%) did not object to living near Negroes, but only a minority of 48% (North, 61%; South, 14%) supported school integration. These percentages represent, respectively, an 18%, 16% and 16% gain over 1942.

Probably one of the more important factors in raising Negro acceptance is the increasing belief that Negroes are as intelligent as whites. In 1942, only 20% of the white South believed this, compared with nearly 60% today. The white North has gone from 50% to more than 80% on this matter, bringing the total from 40% in 1942 to 75% at present.

The authors note in these North-South comparisons that of the three aspects of integration, the North is least tolerant toward residential proximity while the South is more tolerant toward this than toward education and transportation.

The points that emerge most clearly are:

1) The overwhelming majority of people have definite, strong opinions on desegregation; in the polls, the "don't know" group stands at the low figure of 4%.
2) Regional differences (i.e., North-South) are still very sharp.
3) Acceptance of integration increases with amount of education—except in the case of residential proximity. (However, social and financial status may enter here, for the better educated tend to have higher incomes, and upper-income groups are generally the most intolerant of Negro residence in their neighborhoods.)
4) The younger generation is more tolerant—perhaps because they are better educated or perhaps because they have grown up in a time of changing attitudes.

In contrast with the other changes, there has been little or no change of attitude on the question of whether Negroes are being treated fairly. Ironically, it is the white South (79%) that feels Negroes are being treated *more* than fairly, while only 65% of the white North feels this way.